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THE PURPOSE OF LITURGY.*

I. A GENERAL VIEW OF THE TOPIC.

LITURGIES are not made, or remade, in a day. Amongst all the rich and varied forms of Art, none perhaps are so slow of growth, so resistant to change, as organisations of religious ritual. For the liturgical office is manifold. Viewed negatively it is purgative and redemptive. More positively, its function is consolatory, tranquilising, mediative, and above all, evocative. It consoles in trouble, and rescues from melancholy. It dispels the darkness of fear with the light of imagination. It soothes the cruel pathos of memory with the tender wistfulness of hope. But an efficient liturgy serves also as an organ-peal of arousal, that evokes the spirit compassionate yet creative. The impassioning of life towards ennoblement of purpose is the end in view. In secular terms, the purpose of liturgy is to quicken the mind, energise the body, awaken the soul. So may the entire being be braced to action at once heroic and redemptive.

*This paper is a slightly enlarged version of two addresses in a sequence arranged by the Sociological Society at All Hallows' Church, Lombard Street. The scheme and purpose of these addresses were outlined in the October number of the REVIEW, and, it may be added, that the two on Liturgy, closing the series, were designed in relation to the previous addresses, but more particularly with reference to that by Mr. A. Farquharson, on CIVIC DESIGN AS A SACRED ART (unfortunately not available for publication, being delivered *ex tempore*, as also was Dr. Saleeby's address on HEALTH AS HOLINESS). Readers interested to pursue the line of inquiry here opened up may be referred to the writer's little book, LIVING RELIGIONS; and by way of introduction to the present paper the following paragraph in definition of Liturgy may be cited from that book:—"Broadly viewed, Liturgy is a ritual of song, prayer, and procession, it may be of drama and even dance, devised for expelling the devil in our heart, and putting a purified self in communion with God. To be sure, there are nowadays many for whom such phrasing is meaningless, if not even exasperating. For these a definition must be found in terms of moral intention and social purpose. A liturgy, let us then say, is an exercise in communal art, towards abating, and even transmuting our burden of evil, and for kindling within us the fire of ideals realisable by purposive and symbolic interplay between the community and its essential environment, i.e., by interaction with its whole conditions and surroundings." Take this view of Liturgy, and it should make clear the connexion of this paper with that of Mr. Lewis Mumford, which, by a happy coincidence, follows it in the current number of the REVIEW. The one is the necessary complement of the other. For, in the purview of social science, human life is an interplay between People and Place, in which each is alternately hammer and anvil to the other. Mr. Mumford's approach is mainly from the side of Place. In the present paper the approach is essentially from that inner life in which is moulded the pattern that the hammer of Personality seeks to impress on the anvil of Place.

THERE is a sense in which liturgy has a place in the social heritage analogous to that of the day-dream in organic inheritance. Each plays an integrative rôle in the fashioning of vision. And if we make bold to call liturgy a communal organisation, we must think of the day-dream as like unto an individual organ. To each there appertains a mystical something, which links together the two entities we call Personality and Community. And further there is brought about, by the same token, that unison of man and nature and the ideal, which religious tradition entitles the Marriage Mystical.

RECALL that the proper title for the Anglican Liturgy is THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER. The implied meaning is plain. It declares that the liturgical office is, and can be, performed for the individual only to the extent that his community is efficiently served in the same sense, to the same intent, at the same time. Common Prayer, whether we like it or not, means Communal Prayer. Were it not so, the culminating rite of communion, or fellowship in the ideal, would be emptied of content. Herein the religious and the scientific view may be taken as coincident. The social process, as religion and science alike see it, reveals the mystery of a unity-in-duality. Personality and community are disclosed as, not two things, but one, yet differentiated. And science, combining its own terms with those of an older tradition, affirms that the play and purpose of life-in-evolution thus attain. What is hidden in the acorn unfolds in the stately magnificence of that sylvan sanctuary, the grove of ancient oaks. Nor is it otherwise in the flowering and fruiting of humanity. Liturgy, when it furnishes the music for a divine minuet of the communal soul, also moves to individual perfection. In the lifting fellowship of a joyous social rhythm, personality achieves its fulfilment.

FOR a good reason Palestrina holds his high place in the long roll of eucharistic composers. He it was who first provided, for the turbulent modern soul, liturgical harmonies that unite rapture and repose in sustained sublimity of movement. After him, Music and Religion continued but fitfully their joint labours at the modernising of liturgy. The partnership perhaps culminated, and, as some think, terminated, in the D Mass of Beethoven. A destiny strangely appropriate, and altogether symptomatic, befell that composition. Officially ordered for celebrating the installation of an Archduke as Archbishop, the D Mass was nevertheless saved from so perverse a use of sacred music. Delays intervened, and the Mass was not ready till two years after the ceremony of inauguration. Did the sane genius of Beethoven instinctively balk at a prostitution of the muse, none the less shameless because customary? Anyhow the event may be held to mark a turning of her back by Art upon a Spiritual Power given over, body and soul, to the Temporal. Science had already, long before, made the same gesture of disdain and refusal. There followed a sterile period of

ill-starred efforts at single step by Religion, Art, Drama, and Science, each in severe isolation from the other. But a change of mood has overtaken the dispersed members of the liturgical quadrille. To-day all four of them are moved by shy glances to come together again, and dance once more in vital rhythm. They stand to one another like timid maidens and bashful youths awkwardly awaiting the formalities of introduction at a public assembly.

CONSIDER, for instance, the magistral endeavours of that secular civic pageantry, now happily renewing after a long somnolence. In such efforts one may read an intention that comes near to the religious.† For to-day may be seen majestic processions, in which civic art, combining with social science, reaches upwards towards liturgy. But in secular pageantry, the process of evocation is, as it were, from outer to inner. This order, though a mode of vital growth, is not that of the high evolutionary way, which starts in the reverse direction. It would seem then that civic endeavour after ritual requires, for its completion, to be met and mated by that awakening from within, upon which the priests of religion specialise. How to bring about the needed meeting and mating? There presumably is the kernal of our whole research.

APPROACHING from the side of religion, one notes a chronic arrest precisely complementary to that which tends to frustrate the evocatory purpose of secular art and its related science. Does not the religious arousal to emotion of the ideal tend more and more, as civilisation grows complex, to stop short of a vision that can be made to come true in life? Do we not daily observe how the inner call of religious aspiration evaporates in vacuity, or is even turned to bitterness of spirit, for lack of prefigured action adapted to fulfilment? What can the beautiful angel within us do, when called forth by religious invocation, but, like Shelley, beat its wings in vain in the void, unless provided with a scheme of action well calculated to realise the inner vision. But these are generalities. Lest they be brushed aside as mere abstraction, let us consider a representative illustration.

II. SACRED RITUAL AND SECULAR WORK.

OBSERVE, with some attention to detail, one of those parochial perambulations in processional form which mark renewing efforts of the Anglican Church towards the awakening of somnolent populations. First march the thurifers, two handsome bareheaded youths, in scarlet cassock and embroidered surplice. Each swings in wide, slow rhythm a brazen censer from which mounts the incense of a heavenly worship. Between the thurifers, sedately walks a cherubic "boat boy," embracing

† For an illustration, see *LIVING RELIGIONS* (already cited), pp. 50-55.

the vessel of consecrated water. Next come a pair of acolytes bearing flaming symbols of the celestial fires that burn but consume not. Then, headed by a crucifer holding aloft the sacred emblem of salvation, comes row upon row of the surpliced choir, chanting hymns of arousal. There follow in serried ranks—troops of Wolf Cubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, bearing their respective banners. Members of the congregation, not a few smiling children and many devout adults (mostly of the gentler sex) compose the body of the procession. Its rear is brought up by the Vicar, garmented in ferial vestments. Their resplendent colouring and rich embroideries are displayed by two supporting acolytes, who extend the ample folds of the priestly cope to right and left of the marching vicar, like the spread pinions of a golden eagle, sailing through the air.

APPRECIATION must precede criticism. Impossible indeed not to feel, and respond to, the impressiveness of the spectacle. Even the hardened sociologist, if only he will condescend to stand by and look on, in humble and therefore receptive mood, can scarce fail to catch the emotional infection, and so have his eyes opened to see and realise that here is a means of grace which works to its appointed end. Assume that end to be the awakening of torpid souls, and the purging of tainted minds, with consequent calming of shattered nerves and strengthening of enfeebled bodies. Undeniably there is liberated by the procession an elusive something which imparts the thrill of life made whole. Every street traversed gives some sign of awakening from a dormancy grown habitual. Spectators throng the windows and stand alert upon the kerb. If, under impulse of the moving spectacle, the hard word integration, so abstract and lifeless for most, could be shot into the minds of all, it might take on a meaning for sanctity as definitely for science. Its accepted usage would then be to characterise life made one and whole by single control of impulses in the service of aspirations working for spiritual mastery.

FOLLOW our religious procession to its destination in the parish church, and you may there see more precisely the mode of its awakening, healing and energising process. Using the privilege of science (perilous though it be), to detach speculative from practical interests, contemplate the bearing of the congregation while the officiating priest performs his miracle of the altar. Begin with observation of response elicited from the upturned faces of children in the congregation; for here, you may see in operation a religion of the divinity that is latent in all childhood, and patent in the fine flowering of youth, maturity and senescence. Attentive and alert at first, the little faces grow weary and fatigued as the service lengthens and elaborates towards the Eucharistic climax; and, long before its close, they exhibit all the signs of repressed naughtiness. A church which prides itself on continuity of tradition has strangely forgotten its pristine custom

of dismissing the children (along with the catechumens or unbaptised adults) after the observances preliminary to the Great Offering.

To resume our observations. Note the tale of revelation that can be read in the faces of adult worshippers. Seen in the outdoor procession, these faces are most of them marked either by the melancholy remnants of departed youth, or by lingering traces of beauty unrealised and lost. But, now, behold the transfiguration! The miracle of the Altar works. Serenity replaces tedium. The candle of vision is lighted in the lineaments of many a countenance. A spirit of exaltation is released. To not a few comes the herald of rapture. Most have burst the bonds of environmental thralldom, and ascended through the house of life into a mansion of dreams. These taste the freedom and felicity of fulfilment, at a supreme moment of life. Some reach the mystic's goal. They experience the fleeting ecstasy of a complete absorption in the ideal. The essential act of worship is consummated. The soul is inflamed with "the hot wine of love divine."

As a conscientious psychologist, our observer is bound to enquire what happens after return from those mansions of dream where "dark misshapen folk go, to be made lovely there." What of the resultant deeds, or lack of deeds, communal and personal? Can enquiries in this field expose, with any precision, why a religion of divinity in childhood proves so often negligent of children, even detrimental to them? Why a cult of the immaculate in woman, and of godhead in man, so often fails to preserve the one from stain and the other from blight?

WELL, if we had followed the outdoor procession along its whole route, we should have marched with it along the road that unites our parish with its regional metropolis. It is only a forty foot road, but ample for its traffic. To-day the time is winter. Unemployed artisans and labourers are numerous in all the several parishes that compose our town. In every one of these parishes there is a famine of workers' houses, with accompanying crop of ills moral and economic—of which everyone knows though few dare openly mention the horror. But out-of-work bricklayers, masons, carpenters, plumbers are not building the houses, needed alike for welfare and salvation. Mingled in an undifferentiated mass with the unskilled they are engaged in transforming that 40 foot road into a 50 foot road. Note the mode of its doing and their undoing. On one side of the road squads of men are tearing away a steep hillside, cutting down shrubs, uprooting trees and destroying turf, thereby exposing a vertical face of wet clay 20 feet high. On the other side of the road more squads, wielding awkwardly the uncustomary tools of the navy, are filching a strip two yards wide from the town's allotments. Further on more squads are erecting a cyclopean wall to hold up the hillside now and henceforth

tending to landslide into the new road, since deprived of its protecting bank of grass and holding tree-roots. The net result is an exchange of macadamised surface costly to maintain, for so many acres of cow-pasture and market-garden tilth. And in the new balance sheet of our town, the traffic asset after all appears as the old 40 foot road; for, at several points, projecting houses remain, to fix the effective breadth at just what it was before the unemployed were set to work on the broadening of it.

TRANSLATE this macadamising process into the technical phrasing of social science; and it reads as follows: PLACE degraded (from fertile soil to barren macadam); WORK desecrated (by denial of its creative purpose); FOLK debased (by loss of dignity). How great a frustration, if it be the social purpose of religion to evoke in individual minds, throughout the community, an impassioned and ennobling harmony. For there is a manifest test of harmonious and ennobling purpose in communal life. It is ubiquity of Beauty and Order pervasive throughout the man-made environment in town and country. If, to this end, the People habitually engage in the ardours, the endurances, the joys of team-play, should we not say that their work was consecrated? Should we not declare such a community animated by that glorification of the ideal, which is true worship?

III. HELLENIC AND CHRISTIAN IDEALS.

NOW it is a fact of history that beauty and order of place and people are qualities of life essentially characteristic of Hellenic tradition. They make, along with verifiability (or loyalty to the observable truth of facts and processes in everyday life) the trinity of the Hellenic mind. It is also a historic fact that the purity, compassion, love, that go to the making of a gracious personality are the formative aspirations of Christian tradition. These things being so, is it not the main indictment of our Western civilisation, that, as yet, we have not learned how to unite the two dominant traditions of our culture heritage into one ennobling mode of life for the People and their Rulers? Have we not seen, especially during the past three to four centuries, a ruling patriciate cultivating (in the intervals of sport, pastimes and business) the Hellenic ideals, while sedulously, but vicariously, commending the Christian virtues to a deprived and deteriorate People? And only here and there, in sparse islets of the blest, do we find serious and sustained endeavour to unite into one workable scheme of life these two isolated halves of our own particular civilisation?

To see how things stand to-day, return to our two symptomatic pictures. We saw, each following close on the heels of the other, first a representation of ecclesiastical ritual stirring the inner life but negligent of its environment; and next a sample of municipal enterprise coming to

the rescue of a collapsing business system. Does not the sharp and bitter contrast of religious aspiration and economic operation betoken a society astray in a maze of abstractions, and besotted by the resulting confusions? On Sunday intercessory prayer for grant of wisdom to rulers, on Monday, an exposure of rulers' folly. The same community, in sabbatical mood, celebrates by act of worship its faith in the omnipotent Giver of all mercies, while in week-a-day mood it pays sacrificial homage to the most merciless of Powers in the business pantheon. In the ruthlessly competitive market (the place of their birth) we magnify them into potent mythic beings named Demand and Supply.

ECCLESIASTICAL apologists (forgetting a central maxim of their faith that we are all members one of another) will doubtless join with economic specialists and political philosophers in denying or belittling any vital interplay between Sunday ceremony and weekday event. All these modern exponents of the outworn doctrine of atheism (or denial of supremacy to the ideal) may be left to the handling of our psycho-analytic physicians, whose practise of mental diagnosis and spiritual healing is beginning to make them the effective curates of our souls in these troublous times. But note this in passing: to accept the sceptical conclusion is to affirm as normal the current failure of religion to integrate, or make whole, our lives by harnessing impulses to aspiration; and so working towards realisation of the ideal. It is to abandon the supreme claim of religion; that of evoking the heavenly vision and using it to purify, guide and ennoble the secular life. It is to make confession of indulgence in sacramental bliss devoid of communal vision. It is to agree with the fool (not unhonoured, to be sure, in contemporary philosophy), who says in his heart there is no unity. Adherents of the older and more venerable tradition will admit our illustration as showing, once more, just how the people perish for lack of the vision verifiable. Return then to the facts of everyday life.

IN our mean streets, the formless fronts and untidy backs of the houses are, it is easy to see, indexes to the muddled minds of their inmates. It should not be the less easy to see that streets, backs, fronts and all are but registered expressions of the spirit which inhabits that town, or city, and manifests itself, in some degree and kind, in the inner life of all who abide there. And if then our towns and cities be confused minglings of the mean, the tawdry, the squalid, the grandiose, must not the minds of their inhabitants be of the same poisonous brand?

THUS are we driven back upon the old problem of inner life and its outer expression. But this, for science, is the question of interplay between people, work and place. Let us, however, no longer think of place and people (i.e. of environment and population) as separate

entities, and imagine we are speaking with the authentic voice of biological science. Little can we afford to forget a profound qualification. Our homes, villages, towns, cities, compose an environment of radically different order from that which confines the forest, and mercilessly besets its animal denizens. Our man-made environment is the external registration of our inner life. Apart from each other, our inner and outer lives are mere abstractions even more perilous for the sociologist than is the separation of fauna from its milieu for the naturalist. To isolate the world-without from the world-within is a device of scientific analysis which leads to an illusion of reality unless corrected by an equivalent effort of synthesis. To isolate the world-within from the world-without is a device of religious worship which creates a paradise illusory unless tested in action communal and personal. But synthesis can, in the end, only be verified by the team-work which is synergy. Both science and religion therefore must submit to the same ultimate test of worth. The crucial question for both is how do their ideals work in practice?

THE scientific ideal, being of Hellenic provenance, may be conceived as concentrated in the word EUTOPIA, or the infusing of beauty and order into this place (and people) here and now. It will be noticed that E-u-t-o-p-i-a, of set purpose and intent on this, here, now, is the opposite of its political or prescientific form, which was U-t-o-p-i-a, a vague aspiration in the nowhere. To have recovered Eutopia, the better half of Sir Thomas More's forgotten pun, and handed it over to modern sociology, is one of the many services rendered by Professor Geddes to this nascent science.

EUTOPIA, being the characteristic best and highest attainable by this people and this place in the here and now, is of necessity a regional, i.e., a local, concept. But it must needs stand in definite relation to the civilisation of the larger world. As the individual is a meaningless abstraction apart from his community, so also is any community apart from the civilisation whose life and culture it partakes. But interchange of the imponderables between a regional community and its civilisation needs organising no less than its interchange of goods. Schools, to some extent, and, more specifically, universities and academies, are contrived to this end. But the necessary clearing houses of ideas, ideals, imagery, are sadly lacking. To our rescue in this plight comes the Eutopian design. It includes, indeed centres on, the setting up in each community of an organised clearing-house for free trade in the traffic of vision. And the range of this spiritual exchange runs from neighbouring communities through widening circles even to the confines of humanity. Hence this hope and possibility. Tread the Eutopian path persistently, and you may become a world-citizen, without travelling further from your parish pump than the nearest hill-top.

Now, the wide-ranging comprehension and deep-searching sympathy, which mark the world-citizen, are objects of quest alike for Hellenist and Christian. Both agree that the prize is to be won only by long gathering and much hoarding of the inner wealth that rewards successful traffic in the merchandise of vision. Christian tradition insists that in this business of life abundant, the emotion of the ideal should come first. True, doubtless, but if it comes first, last and all the time, the goods are no better than counterfeit. A corresponding quota of verifiable and communicable ideas, along with sustaining imagery, clear-cut in outline, must be carried in the emotional cargo, if the voyage is to prove not only adventurous, but also profitable.

It is for the Hellenist (who is just the plain man, alert, informed and critical), to remind himself of what he is apt to forget, on those somewhat infrequent occasions when the Christian mood overtakes him. For in moments of exaltation, when possessed by emotion of the ideal, we do not always remember that the soaring vision leaves a melancholy and morbid aftermath unless relevant action ensues. And the only relevant action is that which proceeds by a design of achievement, and an economy of resources, well calculated to make the vision come true by appropriate interplay of folk and place through the intermediacy of work. But this possibility of achievement depends on the make-up of our minds and our characteristic habits of thought. Hence the ever-renewing need of Socratic questioning. But the dialectic must be informed by contemporary knowledge of mental structure and function. Recall then the current disposition of evolutionary psychologists to conceive the human mind as made up in a definite way. They regard it as something with an animal core enfolded in successive layers, the respective deposits of historic epochs, all arranged like the coats of an onion! Enwrapping an amazingly complex mind-nucleus of organic life, there would come, in the succession of historic layers, first the mental skins and woad of the primitive hunter. Next you would see the fig-leaf of dawning civilisation. Over that (to say nothing of earlier vestments) you would find in succession the chlamys of Greece, the toga of Rome, cowl and mail of the Middle Ages, the embroidered fineries of the Renaissance, the Puritan's cloak, and surmounting all these piled on garments, the Red Cap of the Revolution, worn in other colours by gentlemen of the leisure class. Such is the view, which current psychology and sociology, working together, present of the occidental mind; their division of labour being in the one case directed to the animal core, and in the other to its wrappings, historic and prehistoric.

UNDER a more thoroughgoing co-operation of old knowledges and new specialisms, it is possible we shall, most of us, come to regard our minds as resembling less the coats of an onion, and more the waistcoats of George IV. That monarch, it will be remembered, had the habit

of enfolding his royal body in numerous fancy waistcoats, superimposed in such wise as to display a nice variety of pattern. Presumably he chose his waistcoats as the fashion of the day, and the accident of the moment, dictated. If so, the analogy with our minds would be more complete.

NOT to press either metaphor too far, let us find the mental picture at some point intermediate between the onion's coats and the monarch's waistcoats. Nevertheless it is probable that, for most of us, what we call our mind is composed not so much from the achievements of past and present cultures as from fragments of their refuse heaps. Yet without doubt it is far from the intention of nature that we should make for ourselves this rag-bag of a mind. Sheer against the purpose of life-in-evolution, we commit the imbecility of continuing to crawl when we are offered the wings of a butterfly. Naturalists use the word *Metamorphosis* to indicate a leap in the life-cycle which like that of caterpillar to butterfly, carries the individual, almost at a bound, into a new and higher world. That very word is found also in the writings of at least one great creator of Patristic theology as a technical term of precisely analogous usage to that of current biology. Gregory of Nyassa (or was it Irenæus ?) uses the word *metamorphosis* to express what the liturgy of the Church is designed to do for us. Can we set out, in non-argumentative terms, what it is precisely that this service of human metamorphosis aims to achieve ?

LOOK well at the lake of translucence, which, through the great eastern window, pours its radiance upon the High Altar, illumining and illustrating the supreme liturgical office. A long array of sacred figures and emblems, presented in the pictured synthesis of that eastern light, tells the tale of the Perfect Man's ancestry. Read the story as a parable of the mind, in seeking garments of culture wherewith to clothe its animal nakedness. How difficult, how perilous is that quest of decency and rightness ! We are continuously beset by the seductive temptations of sin, the inviting trash of the trivial, the poisonous burden of evil, the facile appeal of mediocrity. Yet also shine out on all sides the elements of vision. Mingling, in seeming confusion, all these sources of hope and fear open for us the avenues of life and death, of fulfilment and damnation, in freedom of choice. From day to day, hour to hour, even from moment to moment, we alternate between an embarrassing wealth of heavenly prospects and a shuddering horror of damnable torments.

FORLORN in this predicament we cry aloud for the means of salvation and the certitude of life abundant. To our rescue comes the Church Militant with a manifold service. First the Church selects, from our mingled heritage, the elements of a vision that purifies because it ennobles. Next, by an orchestration of the arts, the Church affords

each of us, willing for a passing moment to don the garments of a childlike simplicity, responsiveness, humility, the means of incorporating that vision as a living Presence. By delivering on our behalf this master stroke of vital integration, the Church proclaims and demonstrates its spiritual power. Faith assured, the rest is, so to speak, tactic of application. By well designed ritual can be repeated that first uplift of the heart, clearance of the mind and energising of the body. So are we provided with means which render us immune to the toxins of sin, fortifies us against the pressure of evil, makes us indifferent to the titillations of triviality. *175. detail*

To initiate and sustain the work of purification, incorporation, and consequent ennoblement of impassioned purpose, the liturgical office has been contrived. In its apparatus of grace the Church stresses two things. One is faith in the perennial victory of inner life over outer circumstance, with its joyous release of energies that burst into rapture of song. The other is confession of sin, with penitential prayer for purging from its soilage of the soul. Outflow of thanksgiving for relief of redemption is the prompt reward of penitential prayer. Then, together do praise of song, and prayer of thanksgiving, unite in expressive acts of worship. Hence the supreme symbolism of the Great Oblation. That act of Eucharistic ritual first bestows the serenity of spiritual peace, then kindles to militancy of redemptive deed.

IV. THE WORLD-WITHOUT AND THE WORLD-WITHIN.

FROM worship at the altar of the ideal, we return to our daily round of the real. But how amid its distractions clearly to map, and resolutely to pursue, a course of action congruent with the eucharistic illumination? Sooner or later we plunge back into darkness and corruption, unless the design of secular achievement and its relevant economy of resource, move us, steadily, continuously, surely, towards realising the revealed vision of fulfilment. Yet we find in practice that notwithstanding the metamorphosis of the altar, we tend to slide back into the old state of an unregenerate life. Despite a vigilant watch, the seeds of sin emerge again from the secret recesses of our being, and grow and flourish. Constant recurrence of temptation and trial discover to us the truth that sin is a communal thing. We know now by experience certain truths which before were theoretical knowledge. We know that it is only in, by and through others that we live, and can live. The community like the family is morally one and indivisible. Moral ills, like physical diseases, are most of them infectious. What we call conviction of sin is consciousness of having caught the plague. A germ of the virus has entered our mind and polluted its substance. Impulses are liberated which make us indifferent or inimical to the ideals of life. Observing us in this miserable plight, the theologian,

competent alike in logic and ethic, draws two deductions. Sin he generalises as hostility to God. Conviction of sin, and subsequent conversion from hostility to love of God, in order to be efficacious for the individual, must also be a communal process.

LIKE so many other dogmas of ancient religion, the unity-in-duality of personality and community, and the three-in-one unity of both with the supreme purpose of life, have become, or are becoming, basal facts of observation for modern psychology. And towards the understanding of these vast complexities sociology makes its specialised contributions. It suggests, for instance, that the idea of a merely individual life is an illusion of egotism, bred by societies in a state of disintegration by reason of divorce from labour and nature. And by the same concrete approach to reality, it suggests that most of our irrationalisms are but the subjective confusions of our irregionalisms. We play havoc with things, and make discord on all sides, because habitually we fail to order our lives to the rhythm and music of people and place rising and swelling from outer melody to inner harmony. Clearly, on all fours with the theologian's practical deduction, is the sociologist's affirmation that each of us can attain to life-fulfilment only by personal adjustment to communal ideals. And, further, it will be agreed that the priest's culminating rite symbolises that creative quality of life in its interplay with circumstance, which the sociologist stresses, when he insists that the communal ideal is, by the nature of things, regional.

ALL these polysyllabic illuminations of theology, psychology and sociology are manifestly but the generalisation of what every woman knows. She knows the contained truths as fundamentals of the home and inspirations of the family. Her deduction is that the man, who does not conform to the family standard of conduct, is a brute. What more can learning and science do than draw out the implications of this wisdom of Pallas in the home? There is one thing more. Let learning and science see to it that nothing of woman's intuitive wisdom be lost in its application to things and affairs in the city at large. And that, if we begin at the top instead of the bottom, means a thorough-going adjustment in the metamorphosis of the Altar to those local aptitudes, customs, traditions which are the very life-blood of each community. Of this liturgical condition, the Church was well aware in the formative days of its early vigour.

IN its first march of triumph through the lands of the west, the Church's missionary vanguard was not only permitted, but ordained, to cultivate a ritual that was regional. To this end Pope Gregory gave specific instructions when he sent out Augustine, the Monk, to convert pagan England. Augustine was told in the matter of liturgy to design a

special "Anglican use." On two points the papal direction was definite. Appropriate elements were to be borrowed from the "Gallican use," appreciably different at that time from the Roman Canon. And further, such pagan rites of local usage as might lend themselves to the purpose, were to be freely incorporated into the English liturgy. From these regional adaptations of those early centuries developed the many English "uses," as of Canterbury, York, Salisbury, Lincoln, and also the immense body of local commemoration which enriched mediæval worship with a multitude of saints, unknown beyond diocesan—sometimes even beyond parochial—boundaries.

THE Gregorian mode of adaptation to regional needs was doubtless a vital, a necessary procedure. Yet, assuredly, there is another side to the issue. The claims of Catholicity are undeniable, but its requirements cannot be assumed. To integrate regional life into the synthesis of a whole civilisation is as supreme a need, as maintenance of local vigour is fundamental. Communities within a civilisation are members one of another in no less intimate a sense than is true of individuals within a community. Need of this larger unison must ever be present to the mind of a shepherd, whose flock comprises black as well as white sheep throughout a vast and varied civilisation. To be sure there never was a moment in the rivalry of many sacred cities for the headship of Christendom, when the Roman Pontiff claimed, and was allowed, spiritual sovereignty over east and west alike. But masterful servants of God, following one another in a long-continued policy of Roman concentration, made the successor of St. Peter, on rare occasions, the effective shepherd of Christendom, when that word stood for an entire civilisation. It is possible, for instance, that the early crusades owe something to papal planning for a deeper unity of Christendom. But the problem of a militant concord conterminous with the Roman See must have been a constant preoccupation of the Holy Father. Having penetrated to the western ocean and the northern sea by regional adaptation of its liturgy, the Church was confronted by the complementary task of a ritual unification adequate to symbolise the common fund of verities. How to call forth a dominant harmony keyed to the Roman note—that was the spiritual issue. Two instruments were used for the purpose. One was repression of heresy, and the other liturgical uniformity. A succession of Popes gave themselves to reversing the Gregorian policy. The centralising tendency culminated in the sixteenth century. It was then that the Roman "use" was formally (i.e., by mere juristic process) decreed for universal adoption throughout the Catholic world. In this matter the Sovereign Pontiff followed the prevalent fashion of his day. Simultaneously, for instance, you find the new national Church in England seeking by, the dead hand of law, to impose its own particular brand of uniformity in liturgical usage.

THE problem of harmonising regional values and civilisation values remains. It enjoyed a brief spell of existence amongst the "live topics of the press" during the war's aftermath of spiritual excitation. The solution of this ever-recurrent Sphinx-riddle may be far off. Those who attack it from the side of liturgy move slowly forward with many a halt and backward step. Yet they (or at least some of them) are supported by the example of nature, the impulses of life, the lesson of history. But these aids are available only so long as the cult of the Temple works by process of spiritual evocation, not by legal imposition. In its own traditional terminology, the aim and task of liturgy can be stated unambiguously. Is it not this: how to evoke personality and kindle community to enjoyment and service of life's loftiest ideals? But that sacred aspiration has a definite relation in both form and substance to the secular problem of Civic Design. The civic designer assumes a vision of fulfilment that can be made to come true in individual lives, here and now, by the concerted energies of communities co-operating from end to end, from top to bottom, of an entire civilisation. His technical problem is with the architectonic design of achievement. It goes without saying that he must work in sympathy and understanding with the hierophants of vision, if his service of co-ordinated intuition, knowledge and imagination is to prove effective.

WHAT then hinders the applied science of City Design and the cryptic art of Temple Cult from being brought together on a footing of common-sense co-operation? Nothing perhaps that matters except only this. A mirage of abstractions cuts off the issues from those most intimately concerned. As to who these are, there can be no doubt. What civic design is to the plain man, that Temple Cult is to the housewife. Assuredly this architectonic science, and that transcendental art, are but the highest terms in the respective life-issues of every man and every woman.

WEDLOCK of youth and maid attains to integrity of purpose only if the marriage mystical, and the nuptials of science with sanctity are also, and at the same time, celebrated. Matrimony is made holy, only as it lights the candle of Vision in conjugal minds and kindles the fires of dedication in conjugal hearts. A prolonged preparation in the harmonies of the world-within and the world-without is the indispensable prerequisite to sacramental efficacy. A sequel of fulfilment, communal and personal, is the sole test of ceremonial adequacy. To credit the merely ceremonious with creative power is perhaps of all human fallacies the most ancient, and the least venerable. Its ferment of confusion menaces all the sacraments of our life-cycle, from the baptism of children to the canonisation of saintly memories.

GRANT the above conclusions, and it only remains to translate their common-sense terms into the learned phrasing that gives a more precise definition to the contained body of implications. Begin with

a frank comparison of the eucharistic and the eutopian schemes of fulfilment. Is not the liturgical vision too much a simulacrum of life abstracted from environment? And if so the religious ideal is capable of realisation only in fugitive moments of inner exaltation. It would seem to follow that the implied design of achievement appertains rather to the practice of magic (with its standing temptation to hypocrisies of conduct) than to efficacious grace. And as for the relevant economy of resources, does not the liturgical scheme tend to abandon that problem altogether and fall back upon recourse to charity or taxation?

ON the other hand, does not the implied vision of eutopian fulfilment smack too much of environment abstracted from life and capable therefore only of an external realisation illusory because of failure to evoke a correspondent inner change? In so far as this holds, the eutopian design of achievement, however architectonic in form, tends to lapse from the vital to the mechanical order, with standing temptation to that same deadly fixation of routine which so persistently besets the liturgical canon. It is not therefore surprising that the civic designer, like the priestly visionary, customarily bends to philanthropist or tax-gatherer for his economy of resources.

QUALITIES and defects of these two schemes of redemption and fulfilment are manifestly complementary. By liturgical invocation the divine ideal is invoked and made manifest in man. If it is to be lived, must not that ideal be made manifest also in the circumstance of our life? Must it not be impressed on our environment like a seal on wax? Accept these data, then does the eutopian design fall into its place in the plan of salvation. And since inner and outer are now in accord, and move in unison with the rhythm of life, an economy of resources adapted to fulfil the integral vision can be assumed, as a natural consequence. The crops of autumn follow in due sequence the ploughing of winter, the seeding of spring, the hoeing of summer, if all these stages are well planned in the design of rustic achievement which emerges from the vision of harvest.

V. EUCHARISTIA AND EUTOPIA.

LITURGY, in the form we know it to-day, is an invention not of Hellenic thought, but of Hellenistic metaphysics adjusted to Christian theology. The Greek word for its culminating rite is Eucharistia. Let us take leave to make use of this sacred word for resuming the present analysis and relating its conclusion to our general thesis. What we would say, in all humility, but with positive conviction, is this. If in a given community the Eucharistia of its thinkers and dreamers does not eventuate in the Eutopia of its artists and creators, then are its People and their Rulers doomed to suffer arrest in spiritual development.

The People fail to escape the dulness of Boetia, their Rulers remain fixed and sterile in the conventions and comforts of Philistia. A society defective in integrity of purpose is veritably a lapsed mass. It stands in desperate need of salvation from the dire consequences of sin against the holy spirit of unity. Its hope of redemption lies in renewing the sanctity of life's ideals. To that end, Eucharistia and Eutopia are given as the inner and outer of one integrated, or holy, life. They are the twin factors of perspective in that long-sought art of life which is also an art of seership. They are notes that sound, or should sound, the dominant harmony of our civilisation.

To invoke the Kingdom of the Ideal, and fail to make it manifest in our environment, is surely a mockery of human purpose, and a denial of evolutionary intention. Liturgical practices devoid of environmental achievement inevitably provoke countering mockeries from the thwarted spirit of communal life. Hence the tale of religious taunts now and in the past. Sacraments, we are told, by the sceptics, maintain their vogue, through survival of belief in sympathetic magic; or as adornments to an otiose life; or as snatches at an evanescent serenity by tormented minds.

To the bitters of sceptical criticism, cynics add their railleries, as in telling us that no people evince a deeper reverence and enthusiasm in partaking of the Mass than Spanish brigands. One hears, too, of Proletarian Sunday Schools, which travesty the divine offices in strange ways. Consider two or three samples culled from these "red" liturgies. Here is one:—"I, Nan McLachlan, do swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to my Class, their heirs and successors, according to the Class Struggle, without any God." Another runs as follows:—"Give me, I pray thee, power to smite my enemies, the rulers of this nation. . . . May my right arm fail me, may a sudden and horrible death visit me, should I at any time leave the path of the Class Struggle." For specimen of the relevant hymnology take this couplet:—

Come, workers, sing a rebel song, a song of love and hate;
Of love unto the lowly, and of hatred to the great.

At every phase of the life-cycle, at every point of the social compass, ritual, it would seem, tends to arise out of the indissoluble unity of people and place, and return thereto with the means of enhancement or the instruments of perversion. Hence for final example of the provocative reaction exerted by over-abstracted liturgies of conventional type, take the hortative texts used for mural decoration in the insurgent "Sunday Schools" of revolutionary religion. From a rounded decalogue, these may be cited: "Thou shalt not be a Patriot: thou shalt believe in Revolution: thou shalt seek salvation by the Class-war."

THE socialist illusion of a Labour Paradise to be won by class warfare, with its mock Marxian liturgy, is but one example of the mordent flames that consume the heart of a disintegrate society. Another is the capitalist illusion of a Leisure Paradise to be won by business enterprise, or financial operation, with its unwitting rubrics of Cash Book, Ledger and Balance Sheet. A third is the political illusion of a Constitutional Paradise achieved by legislative adjustments with their quasi-ritual of Ballot-box Parliament and Platform. A fourth is the moral illusion of a World Peace won by argumentative homilies and learned expositions with would-be ritual of scholastic routine. The list might be extended indefinitely. There is no end to the illusions of a society dissolving in the acid of its abstractions. Each abberancy from the vital order, as it arises, tends to be met and countered, not by something nearer to life and truth, but by another departure which outbids its rival in the mart of fantastic expectation.

By compounding one with another in the diabolic succession of fictitious fulfilments, we make for ourselves a world-within darkened by ignorance and error, saturated with folly, sown with the seeds of vice. The resulting world-without is maimed by disease, crippled by poverty, weighted with a burden of crime latent or actual. They are a well-matched pair, that sinful world-within, that evil world-without. For the composite whole of polluted life we need a symbol and a name. In Hellenic tradition, we have, for symbol, the gruesome face of a trunkless Gorgon, and snakes writhing in her matted hair. In Christian tradition, the name is, quite simply, Hell.

It would seem that, whether we set out for paradise by the one path or the other, we are fated to debouch into pandemonium. Well may the plain man wonder why it is that the engineering skill of both traditions cannot be combined for laying down a track which avoids classical and Christian pitfalls alike. Happily there is testimony to the presence of an unextinguishable something in the *Anima Mundi*, or soul of the world, which sets a term to the gathering of evil, and so goes to confirm the plain man's implication. Every oncoming generation feels the thrust of an impulse to move in the three-fold rhythm of life, labour and nature. And in the measure of its access to these primal sources does each generation respond in dream and deed. To chart and consecrate the pathways of that access is to organise a working ritual of redemption and evocation. It is so that religion and science together can aid the fight of youth, and the resolution of age, for freedom, fulness, felicity.

VICTOR V. BRANFORD.

THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF REGIONALISM.*

I. FROM PALEOTECHNIC TO NEOTECHNIC.

A GENERATION ago, Professor Patrick Geddes pointed out the social and economic implications of the change that was overtaking industrial society through the application of the researches of Volta, Ohm and Faraday, and of Clerk Maxwell, Kelvin and others in that magistral tradition, to the practical conversion and transmission of energy in the form of electricity. Professor Geddes pointed out that the era of black coal was as widely separated in its methods and institutions from the era of hydro-electric power or "white coal," as the old stone age of the archæologists was from the new stone age.

THE first of these two modern eras Professor Geddes proposed to call the paleotechnic period; its locus was the coal measures; its method was the hasty extraction of minerals, using cheap labour and releasing the energy, accumulated by ancient carboniferous forests, and using it to run cheap industries driven by steam power on a large scale. The characteristic by-products of the paleotechnic age were the cinder heap and the slag heap: The polluted rivers became poisonous to animal and vegetable life through the waste products dumped into them; and the slum town, the dreary rows of miserable cottages that line the cinder heaps of the black country in England, or the even flimsier rows of shacks that surround the pithead, or the works in the black countries of U.S.A.—Newark, Philadelphia, Bethlehem, Pittsburgh, Youngstown, Cleveland, Chicago, and beyond. Thus the processes of the paleotechnic age are doubly ruinous: they impoverish the earth by hastily removing, for the benefit of a few generations, the common resources which, once expended and dissipated, can never be restored; and second, in its technique, its habits, its processes, the paleotechnic period is equally inimical to the earth considered as a human habitat, by its destruction of the beauty of the landscape, its ruining of streams, its pollution of drinking water, its filling the air with a finely divided carboniferous deposit, which chokes both life and vegetation.

THE hygienic misdemeanours of the coal-civilisation cannot be estimated; they are too enormous and overpowering. It increased the danger from diseases of dust and darkness, as rickets; aided in the spread of epidemic diseases like smallpox and tuberculosis through overcrowding in slum areas, and made difficult the treatment of many incipient maladies except by segregation outside the smoke pall. To-day, the most remarkable results in tubercular treatment are being performed in Geneva, which has the double advantage provided by nature of a

*This further paper by Mr Lewis Mumford is a sequel to his paper, REGIONALISM AND IRREGIONALISM in the previous number of the REVIEW

high number of sun-days per year, and the electrification of its industries through the harnessing of the Rhone. The smoking factory chimney, which became the universal symbol for "industrial prosperity" during the paleotechnic period, was in fact an emblem of environmental abuse and human deterioration.

THE paleotechnic age began to give way in the eighties to what Professor Geddes has called the neotechnic age, which is based upon a further refinement of industrial technology, comparable to the difference between the coarse, rudely polished weapons and tools of the paleolithic period, and the finished, finely polished instruments of neolithic civilisation, with its skilled industries, its great innovations in agriculture and its rise in the status of woman. The neotechnic age marks a radical change in the economy of energy. The characteristic step is from the squandering of capital reserves of energy to their resourceful adaptation in respect of income and outgo. Thus, when electricity is obtained from coal, under this new regime, it is, or should be, converted near the pithead, not by the extravagant burning of coal, but by its distillation, so that all the precious products, dyes, medicines, oils, fabrics, can be saved, instead of literally going up in smoke. Again, the use of electricity permits the diffusion of power over wide areas without respect to the existing railroad system, which of necessity follows as closely as possible the water-level routes; the automobile, which was invented in the nineties, and in its use of petroleum is a transitional form between the paleotechnic power wagon and the completely neotechnic one, has made possible the building of highroads on a steeper grade than railroads. Engineers who were brought up to respect the infirmities of the horse and the steam engine, hardly yet sufficiently appreciate the freedom given by the petrol engine; and they still waste vast amounts of money grading and filling contours whose ascent the ordinary motor car can climb and make up for this slight extra expenditure by coasting on the downgrade. With the development of motor transport, it follows that instead of confining population to the pitheads, coal-measures, valley-bottoms and ports, the neotechnic regime permits the dispersal of the population into the upland areas; and where power is also available in these upland areas, it permits the immediate manufacture and distribution of power.

THE electrical regime is technically and hygienically superior to the age that preceded it. Electric power is smokeless; it has no waste products; it permits the distribution of power with almost equal efficiency in a single centre or in a score of centres. The steam engineer originally required as the unit of production a whole factory, since many small engines, operating independently, could not produce efficiently. But with electricity the single lathe or the single sewing machine, driven by its own motor, is on a par in mechanical efficiency with one driven on a multiple shaft. Thus the neotechnic period

restores the possibility of the small factory, as against the single, concentrated plant. Mr. Henry Ford, for example, has used the big plant for the final task of assemblage, but in the intermediate processes and products he has come to rely more and more upon the small distributed plant, placed in relation to the countryside, without the congestion and confusion that comes with quasi-metropolitan overgrowth. This, in general, is the tendency of the neotechnic process: it is away from the massed and congested coal-industries in mining areas and railway termini, and towards regional decentralisation—*i.e.*, towards points where the requirements for efficient industry can be correlated with the requirements for a healthy life, a sane mind and social career.

UNDER the mining regime, the region ceased to be regarded or worked as a balanced economic unit. Instead, it was worked with respect to the extraction or manufacture of single products; and industry itself, instead of being diffused in a multitude of small centres, was gathered up along the railway lines and concentrated around their termini in the big ports and junctions. The antecedent period of the canal and highway, with their local production and local consumption, developed the region in all its parts. With the railroad era, the active economic area became the strip along the railroads, and their hypertrophied junctions and termini. In the older parts of the country the hinterland became neglected, lost a good part of its population, and tended to fall out of economic use. In a sense, every industrial community became, by means of the railway, an extension of the coal-mine. The chief products carried by railways in the United States was coal; and for most purposes, the power belt and the railroad line were one. In mental and social reaction, the overgrown population of industrial towns and metropolitan cities inevitably exhibited conspicuous symptoms of mining habits, such as improvidence and gambling, distaste for the arts (except music) and incapacity for architecture.

ON one hand, this development created a great congestion of population in the industrial cities; throughout the western world these multiplied many times over during the nineteenth century; on the other, it made rural centres more and more subservient to the growing metropolises. Instead of city and country developing hand in hand, in active regional partnership, the city grew at the expense—economic and moral—of the countryside. For its low-paid population of unskilled or semi-skilled labourers, the city demanded—and, by subtle manipulations of financial technique, obtained—food at prices which gave the farmer a bare livelihood, or even none; when hard times overtook the farmer, the metropolitan banks and insurance companies stepped in and took mortgages on the farms to tide their cultivators over the crisis; in the United States new industries were protected from competition with foreign products, but the farmer who grew

wheat to sell in a world market had—in course of time—to pay for the industrialist's privilege without exacting any return for himself. These were plainly not conditions under which an adequate and flourishing life could exist in either town or country. And, in fact, an adequate life did not exist. The urban slum, the rundown farm, the dilapidated small town—all these were the products of a quasi-mining civilisation.

THE cycle of non-use, misuse, and destruction is at last coming to an end; and for this, if for no other reason, that once the destructive state is reached, there is no way of going on except by starting afresh on a new course, and the region as an economic unit begins therefore to have an active part to play once more.

SINCE the sixties, we have been warned by a succession of scientific observers that the mining process could not go on indefinitely. One of the first to utter this warning was George Perkins Marsh, whose book, *THE EARTH AND MAN*, though based largely upon his inquiries into the misuses of natural resources around the Mediterranean and the Adriatic in classic times, had a direct message for his own era. In England the inquiries of Jevons into the national coal resources and their rate of waste became the starting point of continuing research. A generation later than Marsh his words were emphasised in a more direct treatment by Nathaniel S. Shaler, in his classic little treatise, *MAN AND THE EARTH*. In 1893, when the American Census returns for 1890 had been published, Professor Turner, the historian, pointed out that "the frontier" had come to an end; almost all the good free land in the country had been utilised; and the day of unlimited waste and destruction was, by sheer pressure of population, approaching an end. Mine and move could no longer serve as the motto of the pioneer; movement was not possible, and mining had therefore to give way once more before the processes of continuous cultivation, relying more on current income of energy and less upon the vast capital resources which communities in the nineteenth century had so cheerfully squandered.

IN sequel to these shocks and warnings, a more intensive survey of resources in U.S.A. was undertaken. The geological surveys, the timber surveys, and the soil surveys undertaken by various departments of the State and Federal governments assembled a vast quantity of data and gave for the first time a clear measure of fundamental resources. Just as the last free lands were passing out of the hands of the community as a whole, the importance of forest and recreation areas was recognised, and from the nineties onward the acquisition or retention of National Parks and National Forests became a definite Federal policy, reinforced in various parts of the country by the efforts of the States themselves. These activities were accompanied by the

deliberate surveys and criticisms of the Conservation Movement. Since it grew out of an effort to combat the dissipation of the common heritage of Natural Resources, the conservation movement at first had mainly a negative emphasis; it stood for less waste, less destruction; it attempted to alter the rate of expenditure, rather than to change its kind. This emphasis was inevitable, and in its time it was salutary; the prime necessity was to put on the brakes, and to conserve, if not to control and develop, the country's resources.

ANALOGOUS movements took place in other countries; and, for a single example, may be cited, in England, the successful plea for preservation of the New Forest as a great national park.

II. ECONOMIC REGIONALISM.

BUT protection of the source of supplies is only one phase of economic regionalism. It is the first step towards the assurance of a permanent livelihood for the population of a region; and in order to make this possible, economic regionalism must not merely protect resources but encourage the balanced development of industries within a region, in relation to agriculture, to the immediate market, and to the place the region occupies as an economic unit in the complex interchange of world markets. In other words, economic regionalism must not merely, through conservation, prevent waste; it must also provide the economic foundations for a continuous and flourishing life.

So far, the proper economic development of our regions, considered as characteristic individualities, has been hindered and obstructed by a system of development which sacrificed the welfare of cities and regions to the pecuniary advantages of the great metropolises. The extractive economy of the miner played directly into the hands of the financier. From the middle of the nineteenth century, the growth of banking, finance, and even, in a measure, insurance, accompanied the growth of the coal cities and reinforced it; with the result that the dominating coal cities now remain in their position through financial concentration of banks, finance and insurance companies, business corporations, and advertising agencies. In their essence, banking and credit are, or should be, instruments for allocating energies to socially productive work. Under the financial order, however, this natural position is obstructed and even tends to be reversed; it comes near current usage to say that the industrial process is a function of banking and credit; the economies of power, machinery, the natural resources of individual regions, all the elements that contribute to the livelihood of a community are perverted, under financial conventions that more or less dominate all minds, into an apparatus estimated almost exclusively in terms of profits and dividends. Financial concentration on the national market, reached by a system of national

advertising, deliberately ignores the economics of a system of production and distribution in which the region is the main factor, and in which interchange takes place between regions only in products that are unique, characteristic, or in surplus. In the effort to capture the national market, energy and effort are thrown into advertising, into the production of an imbecile periodical literature, into sales organisations, and into the elaborate wastes of cross-transportation—expenditures, of course, paid for by the consumer, not only in money, but in confusion of mind and social deterioration. Instead of standardising products and making goods of ascertainable quality available through local production and consumption, our manufacturers are thrust under the effort to achieve “national distribution” towards a standardisation of names and brands and captivating catch words—which represent nothing except the astuteness of the advertising writer.

IN short, the building up of national markets, without regard to regional limitations and necessities and to real economies in energy, labour, or time, has created an elaborate mechanism for carrying coals to Newcastle. This process is sometimes thought to be a natural result of the machine system; but as a matter of fact, in perhaps the great majority of cases, it works directly against the machine system. Industrial civilisation in the spinning and weaving industries that provide clothing was first concentrated, through patent monopolies and secret processes, in England; and when it began to spread in America it was confined to the Eastern cities of the United States. The cities and industries which first flourished in these localities got an early start, and while the country was unsettled they kept control of the market. Technically speaking, however, modern industry can flourish in any region which has access to the necessary engineering knowledge and the necessary basic supplies; industry is no longer confined to the region where it got its first start; so, with the growth of technical knowledge and education, industry, so far from undermining local and regional life, makes it possible over wider areas.

PROFESSOR J. RUSSELL SMITH, the economic geographer, has discussed this matter in the following words: “Perhaps this regional specialisation of manufacture, like the regional specialisation of agriculture, has gone too far. There are signs that it has. We may yet have a renewal of manufacture for local needs as we are already having of agriculture for local needs. Two comparatively new industrial factors make this possible. One is the widespread distribution of electric power in town, village, and home. . . . The second factor is standardisation. These two factors may make it possible to manufacture many small things in small villages, possibly even in the farm-home. It may become easier to transport the man’s raw materials and his produce than his food. This may shift some kinds of manufacturing from

Boston, Worcester, Detroit, or Chicago to farms and villages in food-producing sections of New York State, Michigan, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, or the Rocky Mountain valleys. . . . Standardisation and automatic machinery have gone so far that there is no longer any mystery about knitting a sock, making a shirt or a small standardised piece for a complicated assembled machine. The little pieces for the lawn mower need no longer be made by men who live in the crowded homes of Philadelphia. . . . It is possible that we are at the beginning of an era of the partial redistribution of manufacturing over the land where food production and climate and commercial access are good." Kropotkin made similar observations and drew the same deductions a generation, or more, ago.

PARTICULARLY in the modern production of electric power at the pithead and the waterfall, and its transmission through interlocking systems over a long range, regions which were outside the scope of coal industry, because of the expense of long or difficult hauls of coal, are now capable of a balanced industrial development. It may be, for instance, that the secular shift of manufactures from North to South, now obscurely and fortuitously proceeding in England, is a move towards economic regionalism. It may accelerate the decline of England, or it may help to renew her youth, according as it is ill or well correlated with analogous movements. In America the growth of cotton industries in the southern States, in spite of the long establishment of the textile trades in New England, is an example of the necessary spread of modern industrial methods in regions of equal advantage; and although fashion and finance favour the dominance of a few industrial centres, and the exportation of their product, under trade-marked and nationally advertised names to other regions, production for regional use has become a possibility with machine industry. England once hoped to become the workshop of the world; and by the same advantage of an early start, the industrial cities of eastern States of the Union, once thought to become the workshop of America. That hope must disappear with the further development of backward areas. With cotton woven in the South as well as New England, with steel produced in Alabama as well as Pennsylvania and Ohio, with power produced in the Adirondacks as well as in the Illinois soft coal fields, with sugar produced in Michigan as well as Louisiana, such intense specialisation is no longer a condition of survival. Under modern industry a balanced economic life for every region has become a possibility, as it was a reality under the older regional system that existed before the paleo-technic period. This balanced economic life is not yet in operation, except over small areas; but there is no technical obstacle towards its coming into existence, as there was to a considerable extent during the period of rapid pioneering and railroad building. On the contrary, as population increases and further movement becomes difficult, it

becomes more and more necessary to develop in each region all its economic potentialities—its farms, its mineral resources, its water power; and all the skills and aptitudes of its people—things which might be employed in a scattered and haphazard fashion, just so long as the land was boundless and immigration was unlimited.

THERE is, without doubt, a conflict between this potential regional balance and the top-heavy system of financial enterprise which concentrates industry, population, cultural resources and opportunities of career, in a small number of big cities. Financial exploitation, under the current regime of banking and finance, with its elaborate mechanism of capitalisation and recapitalisation, and with its effort to establish in metropolitan areas a "reasonable congestion" (the real, if unconscious, intention being a constantly towering pyramid of land values, with corresponding shortage of houses, overcrowding and ever-rising rents), must necessarily be anti-regional in its animus and effort. But how instable the artificial fabric thus created! The great metropolises are reaching the limits of their physical growth, and they are finding their increasing congestion too costly to pay for; and while civico-political agglomerations like Petersburg may require a combination of war and revolution to decimate them, the difficulty of procuring water and carrying away sewage will sooner or later curb the growth of financial capitals like New York or Chicago; if the failure of the rural population to secure an adequate living for the food it supplies to these cities does not affect a change beforehand. And still deeper causes are at work. How, under stress of survival, all the great capitals are impelled towards war (with its inevitable concentration, administrative and economic) as a by-product of irregional industry, extravagant finance, reversionary sports and trivial games, and how under a mechanised education, and a venal press, whole peoples follow the war-ward trend of their national capitals like sheep to the slaughter—all this has been observed and demonstrated in the sociological studies of Geddes and Branford. The countering move towards economic regionalism is neither a lost cause nor an abandoned idealism; it is, rather, the next step in effective economic reorganisation. The "rationalisation" of industry, now the watchword, alike of progressive capital and labour, will become the prey of finance unless rising from abstract to concrete and from mechanistic to vital purpose, the process of rationalisation grows into one of regionalisation.

THE main lines of economic regionalism are by now becoming pretty plain. Regionalism does not aim at the economic self-sufficiency of any region: that would be an absurdity in a civilisation that is dependent upon such localised resources as rubber, iron, copper and petroleum. What it does aim at is a state of economic balance; a state in which the population of a region will be distributed with respect to its fundamental resources, in which agriculture, the extractive industries,

manufacture and trade will be co-ordinated, in which the size of cities will be proportioned to open spaces and recreation areas and placed in sound working relation with the countryside itself. If a life, educative, cultural, humane is the object of economic development, a region that becomes, for example, over urbanised or entirely dependent upon external sources of supply is simply a depauperate environment. Economic regionalism implies the fullest and most varied type of economic life within each region, as a basis for its own culture, and as a means of drawing upon the surplus and the peculiar commodities of other regions. George Russell (A.E.) has treated of the relations of economics and culture in his book, *THE NATIONAL BEING*; his exposition covers, in abstract outline, almost everything that is essential to the subject.

THE words industrial decentralisation have often been used as an equivalent of economic regionalism; but the phrase is too obscure to define the task of economic regionalism; since there exists, under the new industrial and cultural pattern, a necessity not merely to break up old centres of congestion, but to build up new centres of concentration. Single industries, located in the midst of the open country, badly equipped for social life and lacking in cultural opportunities, do not lead to a fuller and better regional life. The word decentralisation is often applied, likewise, to the moving of a factory from the centre to the outskirts of a big city, or to the actual departure of the silk industries from a single centre like Paterson to a diffuse distribution among the milltowns of Pennsylvania, in order to utilise the cheap labour of underpaid miners' families. Such efforts have nothing to do with economic regionalism; in one case the result is negligible; in the other, it is anti-social. We find it preferable, therefore, to use the expression economic regionalism to describe the adequate industrial and agricultural development of a locality. Economic regionalism exists just as much to promote rational centralisation, where that is needed and valuable, as it does to foster the opposite process, where that is needed. For centralisation and decentralisation are merely directions of movement; and the question for regionalism is what sort of life, at any particular point, such movements produce.

III. THE REGION AND THE CITY.

UNDER favourable conditions the city is the node of a region; it is the place where all its resources and advantages are brought together and made available for the whole population. Above all, the city gathers together, carries on, and makes available, the social heritage: through school and university, through laboratory and studio and museum and theatre, through its dominant religious and secular associations, the city is the repository of a community's more developed cultural resources. To the extent that these institutions exist and

work harmoniously together, the germ of a city exists, even though the population be as small as a village ; to the extent that these institutions do not exist, or antagonise each other, or are insufficient in quantity and defective in quality, the city itself is merely potential, is sunk in somnolence, or even non-existent, though people be as closely packed together as in the insulae of old Rome or the slums of New York.

THE road diffuses ; the city concentrates. Their relation is that of heart and artery ; and in order to work organically, heart and artery must be related to all the members and organs of a region, pumping goods, services, knowledge, imagery, ideals, modes of recreation and enjoyment, above all men and women, from the city to the remotest country district, and in turn gathering together all that the countryside and its villages produce, in order to make these things available at central points. The metaphor is of course inaccurate ; since the city is head and heart together in many of its relationships, and the road is artery, muscle, and nervous tissue ; enough if the figure merely sets up a contrary impression to that of the city as an independent entity and the countryside as merely " outside the city."

IN a state of balance this rough description applies to every historic city ; but the state of balance has not always been preserved, and in the nineteenth century those cities grew fastest which fostered certain immediate aptitudes adjusted to survival in competitive and venal commerce and industry, and in many cases they ceased either to promote cultural life or to serve their surrounding region. Under a regional regime the city is in active partnership with the region ; in an irregional state the city exists at the expense of its surrounding region, drawing upon it for water and milk, for building sites, for sporting domains and for perennial vigour of youthful immigrants, but contributing not to the enhancement of life except within its own municipal limits.

AT the period when coal-industrialism existed in its most unrelieved state, the middle of the nineteenth century in England, let us say, the few regional cities that remained were in " backward areas " undeveloped for industrial purposes. The notion that truly regional cities could be recreated was so remote and unlikely at that time as to exist solely in the realm of utopian speculation. The first of such speculations was that of Robert Owen ; he conceived of an industrial community planned not merely to increase factory production, but to educate and so civilise its inhabitants. His plan for such a community seems, at this distance, a little harsh and mathematical ; but it has the credit of being perhaps the first to see that the industrial town, or village, as fostered by the industrial revolution did not provide for the perpetuation of human life—except in the most limited

biological sense, and with considerable deterioration by malnutrition and disease. Owen's speculations were followed by a much more detailed and comprehensive scheme put forward early in the Victorian period by James Silk Buckingham. The occasion for the proposal was set out by the author.

"We have the government of the country itself, passing Acts of Parliament for the better drainage of towns and a more ample supply of water and air for ventilation. . . . Hence, too, arise associations of noblemen and others for building model lodging houses for the labouring classes; associations for improving the conditions of the poor; societies for providing baths and bath-houses for families unable to procure such conveniences for themselves; associations for establishing suburban villages for the working classes, and to get them out of the crowded haunts and vicious atmosphere of the towns. . . . They are, after all, mere palliatives, and do not reach the seat of the disease. . . . This can be only done by uniting the disjointed efforts of all these well-meaning but partially curative bodies into one, in order to achieve, by their union of means, influence and example." The town that Buckingham sketched out was to be a mile square and to contain not more than 10,000 inhabitants.

This proposal of Buckingham's is notable because it affirmed that improvement could not be expected within the coal-agglomeration; and that it was possible not by patchwork within the existing centres but by founding and constructing cities on a more comprehensive pattern, providing from the beginning for educational and cultural facilities, as well as for hygiene and health, in a fashion that the coal-city was incapable of doing. About a generation after Buckingham, another proposal for the regional city was put forward: its essential motive was hygiene, and it was sketched out by a physician, B. W. Richardson. All these proposals were still on an abstract plane; that is, they projected certain advantages into the ideal city, without looking at any particular region, and at the actual industries and occupations and habits it fostered, to see where the advantages might come from. The evils of the existing type of city had been discovered by investigation and survey; the reports of numerous health and sanitary inspectors, as in London and New York, had drawn attention to the abominable living quarters, the insufficient open spaces, and the destitute social life of the new industrial sections; the early advocates of the regional city had still to discover that this method of observation and research was likewise needed in order to discover and develop the means towards a better type of city.

NOTABLE advances were made in this direction during the eighties and nineties of the last century. Most significant (and therefore the least advertised) was perhaps the combination of trained observation, eager research, bold experiment and creative imagination, which, at

that time, Patrick Geddes was bringing to bear on the problems of the Old Town of Edinburgh. And from that urban maze of historic survivals, his biological habit of mind naturally turned towards the correlated ills of rural life. From so rich a matrix of place, time and human resource, there naturally issued some remarkable products. Beyond concrete results in the bricks and mortar and the brighter amenities of a bettered environment, along with the liberations and enhancements of an enriched social life, a theoretic achievement stands out conspicuous. It is the gift to sociology of what it so lamentably lacked, and for want of which, social science has remained for more than two generations sterile, notwithstanding the copious growth of specialised branches. Thanks to Geddes, sociology is now provided with a working theory of civilisation in its processes of advance and retrogression, which utilises and unifies the data of geography and economics, of anthropology and psychology, and at the same time moves definitely in line with the biological sciences.

TRUE this Geddesian theory of social evolution and regression is handicapped for general use and discussion by reason of fragmentary publication. It is scattered through fugitive essays (for the most part in *SOCIOLOGICAL PAPERS*, Vols. I., II. and III., and in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*). It informs the score or more of his Reports on Indian Cities (and much of it can be read incidentally in the two folio volumes on Indore), and of course, it inspired that volume of counsel to the Carnegie Trustees of Dunfermline, which though little known to the public, has enlightened ambitious city designers everywhere from Japan to Brazil. This theory of civilisation has, of course, its own special method, at once observational and interpretative. The name Civic Survey and Rural Survey (the two combining into the Regional Survey) somewhat unfortunately, perhaps, overstates the merely observational side of the method. In elaborating and systematising this mode of enquiry into the facts and tendencies of regional life, Geddes had, to be sure, his precursor in Frédéric Le Play; just as, for his theory of social evolution he drew for constructive elements on various initiators, and notably from Auguste Comte.

THE Regional Survey is now widely accepted and practised, especially in England and America, as the necessary means of diagnosing urban and rural ills before treating them. It is also coming into vogue amongst teachers and educationists as an open-air training in observation, and as a means of unifying the dispersive studies of the modern curriculum. But everywhere, as yet, such surveys, alike in the hands of teachers and of City and Regional Planners, tend to be defective in systematic character, and consequently somewhat arid in fruition, for the reason that the sociological theory of which they are the method, is inadequately (if at all) grasped. And indeed, until specialised institutes of observation

and research (in continuity and development of Geddes' experimental initiative, the Outlook Tower, Edinburgh), come to be regarded as an essential part of the equipment for social science, Regional Surveys, whether of geographers, sociologists, or civic and rural planners, will remain empirical, and, so far, ineffective. In other words, Regional Surveys can only yield data for action, when, by means of the Laboratory Method, they lead on to Regional Service. And the laboratory method implies, of course, that the city and its region (i.e. town and country) be brought thoroughly within its range.

IV. THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT.

AFTER a visit to Edinburgh, which brought Ebenezer Howard into contact with Geddes' work and ideas, a book, by the former, called *TO-MORROW*, was published in 1898, and may be held to have inaugurated something like a new era in civic development.

IN this book Ebenezer Howard recognised the regional relationship of the city, and made it the basis of his great scheme of Garden Cities. "Town and country," said Mr. Howard, "must be married, and out of this union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilisation." In his *FIELDS, FACTORIES, AND WORKSHOPS*, published a little later, Peter Kropotkin made a similar case, dealing with the matter from the standpoint of industries and agriculture, rather than cities.

THE garden city, according to Howard, must be limited in size, and in order to ensure this doubly, was to be surrounded by a permanent rural belt, whilst the land itself was to remain permanently in the hands of a municipal company. Industry was to be attracted out of the industrial slum districts of the existing cities and reconcentrated in the garden city. And attention may here be called to the fact that the garden city implies concentration in so far as this lends efficiency to the industrial process or gives social advantages; but the increased land values, that come with concentration, were secured to the community through its permanent hold on the land.

WHAT are the advantages of such a regional city? The chief one, perhaps, is associated with its size and position; it is placed in such a fashion that it may give to, and receive from, the countryside. Being limited in size and surrounded with an agricultural belt, its daily access to the open country and to recreation areas is assured—without the atrocious sacrifice of from one half to two hours on transportation beyond the city's limits. This nearness to the open country has important hygienic advantages for the town population; it gives opportunities for country walks, for participation in country activities, such as fishing, hunting, haying and harvesting, and it opens up directly for the student at school the whole world of nature which modern

science presents, as in a pageant; the knowledge of the weather and the stars, of the geologic structure and the processes of physiography, knowledge of birds and animals and insects and plants, knowledge of the primary operations of husbandry, brickmaking, quarrying, knowledge in short of a whole world which the ordinary student in the mass city can get only through a book, at second hand, or not at all. These advantages are, plainly common to all regional cities; they do not belong only to those which are planned and laid down in advance. But the problem of regional planning is to revive or create regional cities in permanent relationship with the countryside, instead of turning into agglomerations. The solution of this problem depends upon our ability to alter the growth of cities through extension of the existing centres, and to promote growth through planning and planting of new city nuclei, and renewal and enhancement of dilapidated country towns.

EBENEZER HOWARD's book has had a practical outcome: the idea works. The development of Letchworth from 1904 onward, and the planning and development of Welwyn, which began in 1918, have been concrete demonstrations of the possibilities of creating this new type of city, favourable to social life, to industry, without sacrificing all the purposes for which the city exists to any one of them. This type of development has sometimes been criticised and resisted because it is "artificial"; but in actuality it is no more artificial and forced than our present wasteful and misdirected efforts to extend existing urban centres in unbroken masses: the work of the Garden City Company differs from that of the commercial and speculative subdivider, not in being less "natural," but being immensely more adequate. All our present city extensions are, in a sense, planned; all our movements outward from the centre, which involve the building and financing of rapid transit lines, the planning and laying down of streets and public services, are deliberate, but the planning and deliberation are in the hands of profit-seekers inadequately concerned about the general welfare of the community, and incompetent in the technique of civic art; thus it comes about that almost all our present city extension is extravagant in its provision of utilities, burdensome in its daily transportation costs, and futile in its effort to relieve congestion and to provide a better environment.

THE garden city movement has been mainly an effort to start new cities rather than to rehabilitate and put into condition, existing old centres sufficiently small to permit additions which shall be planned so as to make a complete community. Yet plainly, when the region is adopted as the unit for development, the building up of old centres, the breaking up of congested centres, and the founding of entirely new centres to promote social life, industry, culture as a unity, all have to be considered together; they are, in fact, parts of one process, which aims to rehabilitate the region. The reports on the development

of the Deeside and Doncaster and Kent areas in England have proceeded on this assumption; and they mark a distinct step in the direction of the regional city. No one size of city, and no one type of city, is sufficient to any region; the amount of concentration needed differs according to the place-possibility and the type of work: it ranges from the hamlet or village to serve the farming community up to the regional capital, which acts as the centre for regional administration, for business, and for the higher branches of education—as well as for the specialised function not necessary for the smaller centre, such as the hospital and the higher courts of law.

THE movement along the path of least resistance in the railroad and financial era, as the New York State Housing and Regional Planning Commission's report so well shows, is to concentrate population more and more into a few centres along the railroads, notably at the termini and points of trans-shipment, like New York and Buffalo, and to leave the rural areas and the cities that serve them sink into a state of apathy or decay, with an exodus of the intelligent and the able and the cultured among the rural population. The result is a poor and depressed life in the slums of the spreading centres, and an equally poor and depressed life in the rural regions, deprived of intimate local intercourse with all the more civilising tendencies of the city itself. And this process of urban hypertrophy and rural debilitation has been the outstanding feature of the Industrial Revolution, as it worked its disastrous way, with more or less acceleration, through every country of the Western world.

IN the absence of any effort to combat this tendency it would be hard to estimate how long it might have persisted, were it not for the fact that modern technology has introduced a new element into the situation: the auto, the telephone, the radio, and long-distance electric power transmission. The development of motor roads, particularly as this has taken place during the last ten years, has vastly altered the potential distribution of population; and it has also altered the location of the nodal sites where old and neglected towns exist, and where new ones may advantageously grow up and flourish. The city and the road are the two things that bind the region together. In the railway era the city was the coal-agglomeration, and the only road that counted economically was the railroad. In the era of the motor car and the airplane, into which we are now passing, the development does not take place in linear fashion between few important points; and any attempt to force growth into this pattern is not merely wasteful but obsolete, for movement now takes place over surfaces rather than along narrow lines, and it permits, or rather encourages, the existence of a large number of central points.

THIS new development has already had an important effect upon farming life; it is bound to have an equally important effect upon

regional cities ; for whereas up to the time of the automobile, a plan for regional development would have been forced to work contrary to the major technical forces, with the motor car and electric power, the dominant forces actually favour a regional distribution of population—the only countering factors, being the inertia of habit and the vested interest of land monopoly and the existing equipment of congested centres.

FOR the growth and development of regional cities, one can put forward no abstract limitations : the limitations on the size of a city are fixed by the local situation, by the state of the arts, and by the possibility of creating other new cities in a regional relationship. The notion that cities have no limit of growth is fantastic. The question in each case is to establish the maxima and the minima of population with respect to industrial and agricultural developments, beyond which limit life is difficult, burdensome, and in the long run futile. If these limitations, in an expanding community, were established in any particular city, without opening up new centres and encouraging fresh development, the result would of course be intensified congestion. That is why, in expanding countries no limitation of congestion can take place without a deliberate planting and promotion of regional cities, or, in static or declining countries, a renewal of small dilapidated cities.

WHAT one looks for in the regional distribution of population is the recognition of the inherent and natural limitations on city growth. One of these limitations is the fact that a certain social " plant and equipment " is needed for a given unit of population : if the unit be doubled, the plant must be doubled, too ; that is to say, a new " city " must be founded. We habitually ignore this limitation in congested centres by not attempting to provide the new parts of the city with a sufficient equipment of parks, playgrounds, schools, theatres, libraries, while even the physical public utilities may have begun to enter at a late period in the city's expansion, and are often insufficient : for it is only by giving the greater part of the population less than the necessary plant and equipment that further growth can be managed at all in the big centres. Another limitation on city growth is the necessity of preserving open spaces for recreation ; another is the necessity to avoid stream pollution and to obtain drinking water without such an outlay on the physical apparatus as will impoverish every other phase of a city's activity. Still another limitation is the time-distance from the centre of the community to the outskirts ; for when the time-distance becomes so great that the functions of the centre are only intermittently employed by those on the outskirts, they might better form a separate city.

(To be continued.)

THE NEW CHILDREN OF THE CENTURY.*

I.

RECENTLY a certain number of works have appeared, which show the hero of the novel in a new light, as seen by the young writers of to-day. This personage interests both literature and history. His character is not arbitrary. It has always expressed in an exaggerated manner, or on the contrary, in a simplified way, the customs or the dreams of a generation. During the nineteenth century it was by turns excessively romantic, sombrely realistic, and then intellectual and dilettante: it has pursued in succession the cult of passion, the cult of energy, the cult of the ego: it has passed from melancholy to scepticism, it had fallen into pessimism to return, during the years which preceded the war, to the spirit of traditional discipline. What has it become in these latter times, and what is the most recent picturisation which men are pleased to give us of their fellow men?

It is a great pleasure to question the young. They condescend to be imperfect with assurance. They are pleased, without being pressed, to speak of themselves. They are direct, hurried and somewhat brusque. The war impressed them with hard experience whilst they were engaged in it; and an experience so exceptional at an immature age seems to have cut them off from the past. They have drawn their inferences from it without trouble. They are quite new, moreover, they know that whatever they may be, they have the incomparable superiority of representing youth; the future and hope. Though somewhat startled, the family circle applauds. This indulgent philosophy shows after all great wisdom; the family circle is disarmed; its authority has weakened, its example seems more curious than agreeable to imitate. Undoubtedly each successive generation strives to be different from the preceding one. In our day, the young have not even been conscious of this preoccupation; they were naturally and spontaneously other beings which destiny threw into a transformed world. The day after Anatole France's death, a few writers hurled, without precaution or modulation, anathemas on this man who had for so long been the great artiste of a literary period. This manifestation seemed unusual

*To the courtesy of the Editor of that oldest and most illustrious of French periodicals, *LA REVUE DES DEUX MONDES*, we are indebted for the right to translate and publish in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, two articles by Monsieur André Chaumeix, on the post-war literature characteristic of French fiction. If the account given by M. Chaumeix cannot be called descriptive sociology, it is at least raw material for that department of science which still waits to be created. No doubt descriptive sociology waits upon the long-deferred birth of a working hypothesis of unification, so desperately needed for co-ordinating the multifarious and dispersive data of the many specialisms within the sociological field. Meantime literature brilliantly anticipates, and charmingly performs, some of the work, which social science fails to do. And how finely do the analyses of literature recombine within the framework of that vision of life as a whole, which is the artistic forerunner of the systematic "social consensus," which Comte invented for his new science! The succeeding essay by M. André Chaumeix will appear in the April number of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*.—Ed. Soc. Rev.

and brutal. But it was very symptomatic, so simple did it appear to those who cultivated it. Perhaps the haste with which some writers, still very young, have related their youth, or at times their infancy, and indited their premature memoirs, may be explained, by the sentiment that it was necessary to throw off a distant and well-nigh incomprehensible past as soon as possible. For them there was no quarrel as to ancient and modern : quickly they classified the ancient apart : and as quickly did they resolve to be modern—imperiously.

I DO not wish to convey that their seniors, who had other intellectual habits, and a greater study of continuity, were not somewhat taken aback. But with a sincere effort of sympathy, they have nevertheless been at pains to understand. With good will, however, have they tried and been assisted in this by their juniors. The easy and graceful manner of the newcomers is accompanied by complete frankness. They explain themselves quickly, that is undoubtedly what remains of the heritage which they have received, though it is somewhat hazy. Twenty-five years ago literature was very analytical ; the extreme efflorescence of psychology was the work of M. Proust, who had such a marked influence on the young. Of this they have retained an exceptional mark of authorship. It is the habit of the day in all manner of things to expose bare facts. The age of nightshirts has passed, and we are now at the pyjama state, the age of rapid and clear cinematographic scenes, the age of mathematical dances with their brutal and bare rhythm. And these characteristics are not exclusive to the French : even in the countries where at one time a conventional reserve obtained, puritan and at times hypocritical, a current often stronger than in France has torn away the veil which envelops human misery : *LE CYGNE NOIR* by M. Ernst Pascal, bears witness to this. The whole universe is exposed. There is nothing to do but to read the modern works, which, without mystery, will expose the ideas which the young have formed apropos of their existence.

II.

THE most striking feature of the hero in the modern novel is his passionate individualism. If we examine works of such widely different character as *LES CAPTIFS* by M. J. Kessel, *LES ENFANTS DU SIÈCLE* by M. Lamandé, or *L'HOMME COUVERT DE FEMMES* by M. Drieu La Rochelle, and if one recalls *LEWIS ET IRÈNE* by M. Paul Morand, and *ALBERTE* by M. Pierre Benoit, we notice that the principal characters of these novels have all the peculiarity in common of seeking before everything to exercise their free will. They will admit neither chain nor obstacle. They have the extreme cult of independence ; they will not be enslaved or limited by any kind of obligation. Proud, cold, egotistical, they all imagine that their first duty is to safeguard incessantly the faculty of following that which they judge to be their interest.

It does not appear that this is with them the result of a long philosophical research. The heroes of Stendhal in the *ROUGE ET NOIR*, and the hero of M. Paul Bourget in *LE DISCIPLE* had a reasoned conception of existence. Whatever one may think of the individual theory of each one of them, it was conscious and well thought out. Nothing of this is evident in the greater part of modern novels. Rarely do the characters comment upon their manner of life. Still rarer is it that they make it the object of study or meditation. They are guided by impulse, a spontaneous and strong impulse. The desire of independence is with them deeply instinctive. It is something of an elementary nature somewhat like the instinct of conservation. They think of the success of their affairs, because of their need of money : they think of pleasure, which helps to pass away the time : they think of the necessity to affirm and to command, to put aside whatever might harass them. They are dominated by the obsession to allow their personality the possibility of its full development.

WE all know that this sentiment is natural to human kind. It is long since M. de la Rochefoucauld declared that all our actions revolved round our self-respect, and by that he meant not vanity, but this love of self which one calls egotism. All secular effort of social life has consisted generally in reconciling these personal preoccupations with the existence of other people : civilisation, moral culture, have had for their object to give to men the care of their neighbour, and these have blossomed forth when the notions of justice, of charity and sacrifice have penetrated their hearts. It may be admitted that personal interest has remained the source of activity since the world began : the whole of the higher life of the spirit tends to establish a subtle agreement between the innate egotism and the intelligence which is learnt from our duty to one another.

A REMARKABLE feature to be noted in many recent books, is the manner in which the hero of the novel treats everything which is not himself ; he sees everywhere nothing but vast matter to be moulded according to his tastes, partners to be made use of, accessories or fleeting pastimes of his sovereign activity. This fact is admitted by M. Lamandé in *LES ENFANTS DU SIÈCLE*. It is particularly striking in *LES CAPTIFS* by M. J. Kessel, in which he deals with a patient living among patients who are more ill than himself. The violent desire to get well and to live is studied, if one might so say, in its bare state, and all the talent of the author does not succeed in attenuating what is irreducible in this instinct which knows no law.

MORE difficult still is it to imagine that such will-power may have an ulterior object. It has happened in the past that such an aim has made great conquerors, great captains of industry, great artists, great lovers. But in modern characters it tends to nothing, or at least that it tends to nothing lasting. It only serves the passing moment. The passionate

taste for independence is the desire to reserve oneself less for an aim or purpose, which fills life or part of life, than for the immediate future. The hero of M. Drieu La Rochelle (*L'HOMME COUVERT DE FEMMES*) devotes himself to a succession of experiences more or less happy, and the liberty which he retains is destined to permit him to continue. Nor does the hero of M. Kessel seem to have any intentions. We do not gather that these characters have any idea of ensemble, any intellectual life, any sentimental life. According to the celebrated definition of a former philosopher, these men are a bundle of sensations. They are instantaneous. They have a strong appreciation of the flight of time, of the uncertainty of things, of the incoherence of the universe. They seize on earth the only thing of which they are momentarily sure, their impressions. And their life is thus made up of a succession of discontinuous images, emotions, and desires, of which the fleeting enjoyment is their sole rule.

IN M. Kessel's *LES CAPTIFS* there is a remarkable passage where Marc, the principal character, looks upon a landscape, otherwise charming, where one sees a yellow and bluish plain, crossed by a river, and enveloped in light smoke which floats around the houses. And the author adds: "Marc had always professed to neglect nature. The sea of clouds, its undulations mixed with light and foam, could it replace the joy of towns, work, the vanquished adversaries, the captured woman, the integrity of muscle, the triumph of decision? . . . He took the mountain air and paid its price. What remained he left to hearts less deeply steeped than his." One cannot be more positive. . . . And yet, Jean, the hero of *LES ENFANTS DU SIÈCLE*, by M. Lamandé manages to be more so. True he has been to a good school. His father, a "brewer of cynical affairs," has given him a decisive lesson at his initiation into active life: "Above all, mark this well, which sums up my rule of conduct and is the secret of my success: sheep bleat, wolves howl, lions help themselves." And Jean, very apt pupil, resumes in his turn his experience in these words, without shades, and quasi-schismatic: "The world is a field of battle. Nothing is missing from it: enemy camps, doubtful allies, objectives to be attained, passages to be forced, and all the panoply of war, force, cunning, violence or perseverance." All very foreign to a sentimental education. It reminds one of the tender words of a writer not of great repute, but who had taste and philosophy: "Man has in him that infinite need to love which makes him divine." What an ancient maxim! and yet it was written barely thirty years ago. But there are times when the world moves very quickly. . . .

III.

No, it is not the need to love, which torments the modern heroes of novels, and never have woman and love been so lightly treated as in the books of our day. Insensibility is the condition of what one

believes to be independence. Not only do the characters take care to guard against allurements, but they are proud of their barrenness. In the fantastic and spirited comedy of M. Jean Pellerin, entitled *TÊTES DE RECHANGE*, the nephew, Ixe, who represents the new generations, relates in a lively manner his deeds to the uncle, who takes it upon himself to speak to him of love. Retort follows, easy, graceful, and satiric, with the appearance of exaggeration, but symbolic. Ixe speaks in the name of all his contemporaries, because they all think alike.

"We are no longer at the period of great love passions," says the hero of M. Lamandé. "In love as in business the heart must have no place. . . . I find it good in the face of love, to retain mastery of my nerves, be clear-headed and hard-hearted. I place myself among the élite of young men of my age for whose benefit the war was made." And this is how, in *LES CAPTIFS*, Marc leaves a woman who has been tender and faithful. "I am going. As you have always been perfect in my eyes, I wish to bid you farewell." . . . "He was silent, feeling that the separation was complete. But seeing the beautiful shoulders of the woman heaving, he feared that the tie was not so easily broken as he had imagined. It gave him a feeling of deep ennui." Later on, the same Marc having largely indulged in the tenderness of a charming Thérèse, whom he had met in the Sanatorium, speaks of the future without giving the least place in it to the woman who had devoted herself to him. Thérèse is indignant. But Marc is still more indignant at her protestations. "This vehemence exasperated him. Never had he been so tender with a woman, never, with a being whom he disdained, had he so sacrificed his feelings. And this was his reward. . . . He detested subterfuge, and was always frank, as he found this the better way to throw off responsibility. He looked ahead: and for that matter women must look after themselves." "I am neither ruled nor obsessed with love," replied he smartly. "A liason lasts while it lasts, I never think of it."

ONE cannot be more clear and concise in one's explanation. M. Francois Mauriac has found an expressive way in which to depict this mode of thought and action, which he has used as the title for a story published by *LA REVUE*. He has entitled it: *COUPS DE COUTEAU*. The painter whose story he relates confides cordially and most intimately to his wife, Elizabeth, the feelings he has for another woman. And as Elizabeth, overwhelmed by this, cannot suppress the pain it gives her, he tells her that it is quite natural that she should suffer when he suffers. This assuredly is the extreme point of sincerity. It is the opposite of the Pascalian maxim: Politeness consists in inconveniencing yourself. And it is the reverse of the paradox so dear to Anatole France, and according to which untruth is alone capable at times of making life bearable. Furthermore it is noteworthy of remark that *COUPS DE COUTEAU* by M. Francois Mauriac is taken

in a figurative sense. To be exact, one must add that in many novels men treat the existence of women lightly. Already in ALBERTE by M. Pierre Benoit, an engineer craftily rids himself of a fiancée, who was in his way in order to love her mother in comfort, and if, at the end of a few years, he did not rid himself as easily of the mother as of the daughter, it is because she surrendered herself to justice.

SINCE then, one has seen in recent books many women disappear mysteriously. The character in M. Francis Carco's *PERVERSITÉ*, who kills his sister, has at least the excuse of belonging to the underworld of the Apachés, in which a rigid code of honour does not, however, forbid murder. But Jean, who, in M. Lamandé's book, gently pushes his rather beautiful mother-in-law, Florence, from a hilltop into a ravine, takes this method simply to get out of a difficult situation. If Thérèse, in *LES CAPTIFS* does not die from the ill-treatment at the hands of Marc, it is because a lucky chance permits her to be quickly cared for by others. And it is not until we read *L'HOMME BLESSÉ* by M. Lucien Romier, who has nevertheless analysed in so many lights the uncertainties of a generation after the war, that the heroine is found dead in the country through a problematical accident. The good La Fontaine was one of those who did not cry out: "It's nothing, it is only a drowning woman." The Fabulist is very out of date.

By this it would seem that woman is looked upon as an enemy, and that is one of the most singular characteristics of all young literature. She is inimical to the masculine will, hostile to the liberty of man, enemy and rival even in financial affairs, as M. Paul Morand demonstrated in *LEWIS ET IRÈNE*. But there is in this hostility nothing of the apocalyptic romanticism which caused the character in Dumas fils to exclaim: "kill her." This war of the sexes goes on without apostrophe and without literature. It appears, to those who engage in it, quite simple. Between 1900 and 1914 woman had held her own, in the books which were not all inspired by the cult of love, as an equal and partner. She has now become an adversary. Evidently one might find in books of the past some inkling of this situation. *L'IMMORALISTE* by M. André Gide was certainly a forerunner in its easy grace and its contempt of woman, but it is only in our day that he has found quite a sect of imitators. "With cold-blooded cruelty, which astonishes me to-day," says the character in a recent work, "I have destroyed my sensibility. . . . No, we were no longer of those who lose their heads over a pretty woman, and avowals left intact the regularity of my brain." The same unconstrained style is found in *CRISE DE CROISSANCE* by M. Pierre Bost, and in *LES BESTIAIRES*, a remarkable work by M. Henry de Motherlant, one of the most brilliant of recent writers. This assuredly is a theme not frequently met with in the history of our literature. The sentiment which animates so many poems, novels and works of all kinds has become almost incomprehensible to many of

the young. Quite recently I heard a charming youth, an idler among men older than he, whose conversation interested him very little, exclaim suddenly on seeing a little silver scent box on a table : " That, certainly is a very ancient article ! " And when a well-meaning interlocutor congratulated him on his artistic knowledge, the young man said with frankness : " No, I am not a Connoisseur, but I judge its antiquity by the inscription of a former age which is inscribed on the box : UNITED FOR EVER. What a curious period ! " An ingenious and insignificant remark. The heart is no longer worn on the sleeve.

I DO not attempt to explain the reasons, but I seek them earnestly. Relations between men and women, as they were represented in our literature, were the result of a long social tradition. Neither egotism, nor storms, nor even passion and moments of bliss were excluded. The conventional courtesy and salutary ceremonies softened crises and made them plausible even to tragedy. Women were sure of their domination, and men believed themselves superior ; thus the world wags. When one reads ancient correspondence, one is struck by the ease with which lovers bore the greatest difficulties. Mlle. de Lespinasse distracted, has pursued M. de Guibert with a tyrannical and overwhelming love. M. de Guibert has often felt impatient and bored. But without a manifestation of imperialism and without invoking his sovereignty, he has quietly done what he thought he would do ; that is to say he has been false to Mlle. de Lespinasse, he has seen her again, he has seen her rival, he has even married, but not for one moment has he ceased to work and carry on his studies on military art, which were perhaps the things which mattered most in the world to him. He was not an exceptional lover, he was not a genius, he was not a bad man, he was not a libertine. He was an honest man, graciously imperfect, who went his way humanely, enjoying the fruits of the earth, and paying without accounting himself heroic, by short-lived torments, the sweet hours which destiny had granted him.

BUT this fine equilibrium, which on the other hand is not marvellous, but which has a certain solidity, is broken. Why ? The heroes of novels have discovered in woman a companion somewhat uncertain and of little interest, who has taken up independence and strength, who also has a certain brutality, and who no longer counts as an object of pleasure. It is the result of an immense desire for tranquility. It is also the result of a certain fatigue and of a certain weakness. All these protestations, of which books are full, on the need of keeping one's brain intact, on the need to remain sovereign and independent, suggest uneasiness. One does not speak so much of one's liberty when one is serenely sure of being strong enough to protect it. This pre-occupation to be independent of passions is an avowal. The hero of the novel no longer idealises, he will not suffer : he will not even be bored, he admits nothing but his own pleasure, provided the

purchase price is not too heavy ; he avoids engagements. Cerebral after a fashion, even when his penchant for intellectual culture is limited, inclined towards affairs which bring grist to the mill, unstable and inclined to seek fleeting distractions, he sees in himself a being somewhat artificial and fragile, and it may be that at heart he has some fear of this other being less feeble than he ; not in the least logical, nearer nature and holder of the elementary and mysterious forces of life. He has no respect, but he has a little fear. He maintains distances : and acting upon Nietzsche's advice, when he goes to visit women he takes his whip, and all this assurance makes one think of the lion-tamer who is the stronger, but who nevertheless thinks he may one day be devoured. It was not in this manner that Dante thought of Beatrice, or that Ronsard spoke to Marie.

IV.

AND now, one may ask, do these heroes of novels give one the impression, of being happy ? Alas ! notwithstanding so many precautions to safeguard their existence they appear sad, and it may be that they are sadder than they seem to be. What nostalgia amongst them all ! What inability to accept the universe ! What painful means they seek to flee from pain ! What inspires sympathy for their aims, and, if one may so say, for their philosophy, is the fact that one feels their instability ! In *LA STEPPE ROUGE* by M. Kessel, a character held these views, which could also be placed on the lips of the heroes of *CAPTIFS* and of many others : " No longer must there be any other master but himself. He must separate, at all costs, from the deceivers who sought to bend the chiefs as well as the people with the same rod of iron. He must oppose this anonymous force or will by his own, anarchic, insurgent, devastating." And this anonymous will is that of all the other people, it is that which he meets on his way, it is that of the woman also. And the personal will, of which the supremacy must be assured, must according to the hero of *LA STEPPE ROUGE* be devastating in its course ; and it is not less so amongst other characters who do not admit it, or who are less conscious of it.

THE fact is that this constant research for fleeting pleasures is deceiving. The perpetual support of a sovereignty which has no exterior object to oneself or greater than oneself, is an effort so useless that it ends by making life very burdensome. A few of these heroes of recent novels extricate themselves by the constancy of their frivolity : M. Paul Bourget in *LE DANSEUR MONDAIN*, analyses with perspicacity those who retain in their vagabond existence a kind of animalistic equilibrium, and who lend, or adapt themselves, to things just enough to enjoy them without being overwhelmed. But the weakest do not resist this tendency which takes them nowhere. The Chéri, hero of Mme. Colette's novel of that name, after having played with luxury, capricious

and spoilt, is not strong enough to live life such as he sees it, and the day he realises this, he commits suicide. *L'APPRESTI GIGOLO* by M. Jean Marèze also ends romantically by suicide. Others seek oblivion in drugs, and the hero of M. Henri Gramain, in *FANNA LE NOMADE*, who, in parts of the book, had nevertheless given some evidence of energy, ends his recital by this invocation: "Oh just, subtle, and omnipotent opium!"

AND thus it is that we are not so dead to feeling: signs of a reaction and a reawakening of sensibility are evident. All these young writers, who are ingenious and subtle, and who have more or less talent, lead us by tortuous paths to a literature which will not be so barren as it seems. A century ago, after the Napoleonic wars, the movement which stamped imagination and sentiment on French literature was much more rapid. We were emerging from an orgy of glory. We were tired of brilliant deeds and even of action. A mournful poet was wanted. Then suddenly, like a young god, Lamartine appeared, and in a few weeks, Paris, women, young men, and soon all hearts, were at his feet. Historians have shown us in these later years that his success had been cleverly planned by his friends and himself. But this in no way alters the fact that there was suddenly a marvellous unity between the fluent and resonant poetry of the newcomer, and the needs of an exhausted period which, after so many hard and illustrious works, sought to grasp the great laws of life, the eternal chances of those who grieve, who dream and who hope. It is somewhat remarkable that after the lapse of a century, a period of war and of glory should have so widely different effects. Instead of the enthusiasm, the sensibility, the aspirations rather confused and generous of 1820, the most recent novels have presented us with sad characters, self-willed, brusque, in a hurry to live and to seize, in their flight, fleeting pleasures. One understands the disarray and agitation of a generation which to-day is 40 years old, which has gone through a terrible experience, which has seen the slaughter of thousands upon thousands of young men, which knows the uncertainty of things and events. One understands also the peculiarity of those who are not 30, who have grown up during the war in a chaotic world, who have passed through Army *Dépôts* during the last months of the conflict, who too soon enjoyed a liberty, which they now cannot do without. They have experienced, according to a phrase which I heard one day, an impression too strong which has scorched them. And these two groups of men, those of 40, who are survivors, those of 25-30, whose adolescence has been so seared and unusual, feel that they are exceptional, isolated from their seniors who have known and enjoyed life with all its fulness before the war, and their juniors who are growing up, who have not lived through the years 1914-1918, and for whom the war will only be a stirring, terrible and glorious chapter of history, an event achieved and already relegated

to the past and to legend. Let us refrain from being too severe upon these disoriented individuals, even when they disconcert us, because they themselves are disconcerted and they have suffered; let us leave them to fulfil their brilliant and incomplete destiny, and let us note the signs with which they testify that each day they see and understand more things, and that they gradually reach towards the way where their seniors have passed and where they will tread their own course according to their own nature.

It is not by chance that at the end of *CAPTIFS*, the hero Marc, egotist and self-willed, takes an interest, without any apparent reasons, in a little sick girl who has been disinherited; and her environment, pain and death lead him to a higher understanding, and if, as M. Renan wished, he has not yet learnt how to pray, he accomplishes for the first time for many a day a disinterested action. It is not by chance either that in *LES ENFANTS DU SIÈCLE* by M. Lamandé, whose conclusion is so interesting, Jean realises what pain is, and in the horror of pain, cries out in his distress and agony and calls upon (as Rimbeaud says), the kings of life: the heart, soul, and spirit. Another sign: an author whose romantic adventures have conquered an immense public, M. Pierre Benoit, who knows how to tell a story, who has a striking vitality, and whose head is full of tales, consecrates part of his time to long travels, has a passion for French politics in the East, and writes journalistic reports to call the attention of his contemporaries to a few real problems, which affect the future of French prestige in the world. Another novelist, M. Henri Béraud, who also has achieved success, writes a book on Moscow and the Bolshevik Revolution, and another on Berlin and the state of mind of Germany. A whimsical writer, an historian of cosmopolitan morals, M. Paul Morand, who came to the front with *OUVERT LA NUIT ET FERMÉ LA NUIT*, in the best work he has published, the most deeply thought out, the most extensive: *RIEN QUE LA TERRE*, suddenly propounds a philosophy of the new world and invites us to consider what place France may hold in it. Thus does every one follow, by degrees, that great law formulated by Taine, according to which the only way to live is to incorporate oneself with something greater than oneself.

YOUNG literature is in the melting pot. No one can predict what will come out of it. But "the wind bloweth where it listeth," and we must patiently wait for the result. Everything reblossoms. We shall see writers return to the care of their souls, we shall once again have a sentimental literature. A very young writer has confided to me that his dream was to write, when the time was ripe, a little book entitled *RESTAURATION DE L'AMOUR*. And if he chooses the right moment, I can assure him of success.

ANDRÉ CHAUMEIX.

THE UPPER ADOUR: A STUDY OF A PYRENEAN VALLEY:¹
by W. Stanley Lewis and D. T. Williams.

THE region treated in this study is that drained by the Adour and its tributaries above Montgaillard; its relation to the main range of the Pyrenees is shown in an accompanying diagram (Fig. 1).

THE dominating physical feature is the Pic du Midi de Bigorre, which forms part of an extensive synclinal fold striking W.N.W.-E.S.E. through Argeles and Arreau. This direction is parallel to the trend of the main axis of the mountain system and the fold is but one of a series of synclines whose remnants are important elements in the local topography. Thus, minor folds of similar character may be recognised in a zone extending through Lourdes and Campan.² On either side of the Pic du Midi lies an amphitheatre opening northward. That on the East is crowned by the Pic d'Arbizon, the source of the Adour, while the smaller western arc is a collecting ground for the waters of the Adour de Lesponne, a tributary that joins the Adour between Campan and Beaudéan. Interesting lines of physical investigation are opened up by a study of the relation of these sources to the neighbouring valleys, those of the Gave de Pau and the Neste.

THE Adour shows in some measure all the characteristic indications of a youthful stage of morphology, particularly in its smaller tributary valleys, and may be regarded as a typical example of the prevalent transverse Pyrenean Valley. Its youthful features are in striking contrast to the extensive stretches of high dome-like grasslands, so valued as high pastures, that mark the more mature phase of a previous cycle of erosion. Above these peneplained surfaces rise the rugged and craggy slopes of the peak zone, once more stamped with the impress of youth, e.g., the Pic du Midi and the Pic de Montaigu. The variety and attractiveness of the scenery is in part due to this combination of two or more cycles of erosion, whose evolution has been the object of close study.³

¹This article is founded on observations made by the authors during a Student Tour organised by Lepelay House in August, 1926, under the direction of Professor Lewis, and of which Tour Mr. Williams was a group leader. As a contribution to Descriptive Sociology the article may be compared with that by M. André Chaumeix in this number of the REVIEW. The respective qualities and defects of the scientific and the literary approach clearly emerge. The more or less systematic application of the "preliminary" sciences towards a sociological presentation gives to the paper by Professor Lewis and Mr. Williams a precision of concrete observation, verifiable, and therefore open to expansion or modification in definite ways. But that continuing expansion towards comprehensiveness of presentation which is the chief aim of science needs a hypothesis of unity. As yet, however, no such hypothesis has been made generally available. And consequently descriptive papers written in the scientific mode lack the interpretative quality which a certain traditional vision of unity gives to literary studies so admirable as that of M. André Chaumeix.—Ed., Soc. Rev.

²LA GÉOLOGIE DES PYRÉNÉES FRANÇAISES. Imprimerie nationale, Paris, 1904.

³E.g. in LA MORPHOLOGIE DES PYRÉNÉES FRANÇAISES, R. Blanchard, Annales de Géographie, Vol. 23, pp. 303-324.

THE valley cannot be regarded as a unit from the geological physical or vegetational aspects. It includes outcrops of Primary and Secondary rocks broken in places by granite and other igneous intrusions while in the terraces of its sides and at the debouchure into the plain are ample traces of past glaciation in the form of structural features and morainic deposits. Metamorphism on a wide scale is evidenced in the higher reaches of the valley.

WHILE rich in vegetation definite plant associations with dominant species are absent,⁴ further no phyto-geological associations can be traced. Four zones may however be distinguished as follows :—

- (a) *Flood Plain.* Here alder, hazel and elder hug the stream and pass into ash, sycamore and hedge-growths of willow, bramble, briar-rose, &c. Plant life of a lesser kind includes water parsnip, pignut, mint, meadowsweet, soapwort and common mallow.
- (b) *Valley Meadow-Land.* This is as a rule of a low terrace type chiefly given over to cultivated crops with the hedgerows made up of plants of a very general character, many British species being common, e.g., convolvulus major, woody nightshade, bush vetch, cleavers and other climbers.
- (c) *Lower Slopes.* The commonest trees are sweet chestnut, beech and hazel with beech locally dominant in certain areas. Large patches of scrub occur on the stony patches, consisting of common juniper and *Ulex gallica*, giving way to *Pteris* or to the many-flowered heath (*Erica multiflora*), the heather common to the district.
- (d) *Upper Slopes.* Vegetation here seems to depend upon depth and character of soil rather than upon altitude. Deciduous trees ascend to 6,000 ft. except where the barren rock provides foothold only for scrub, but alpine plants are, in the main, rare.

SOUTH of Bagnères de Bigorre the region takes on the aspect of a typical valley unit set in a high mountain environment, a "milieu" that tends to foster a certain unity of folk-type and folk-life, both along and across a mountain range. This unity has persisted despite the political cleavage, and in face of the tendency towards closer and more definite intercourse between upland valley and lowland plain that has strengthened during the last two centuries with their improvements in transport. From time to time the older mode of life in the higher valleys has been enriched by such external contacts. The penetrative influences of Roman days have been emphasised by the establishment of thermes, hotels, casinos and the like, while a more facile transport has increased the number and variety of these contacts, driven them deeper into the recesses of the highland and created at its zone of contact with the lowland an attractive outlet for the scanty products of the highlander.

⁴The main details concerning vegetation are supplied by Mr. H. J. Howard.

By these and other advances such as the development of hydro-electricity the revenue and standard of living of the valley peasants have been increased and the new adjustments are not without their psychological reactions. On the other hand the natural resources are marketed directly as scenery and sanatoria or indirectly as food-stuffs, raw materials and power, and it is not difficult to assess the value of these economic results. The other aspect is however equally important, though the precise significance of the moral consequences involved cannot be estimated. It is the effect of the contact with the plainsmen, more blessed with material riches, upon the outlook of the younger generation among the mountain folk. A spirit of unrest that culminates in movement towards the valley mouth and the plains beyond is merely a symptom of deeper changes in outlook—changes that are likely to be detrimental to the region unless countered by intelligent and sympathetic reactions. Fortunately this export of its man-power has not yet proceeded far in the Adour Valley in spite of the coercive contacts of conscription, and this fact is an indication of the richness of its natural endowment. New industries have been created and old occupations invigorated so that the modern population, at any rate on the lower levels of the valley, finds more than enough work and satisfactory provision for its material and spiritual needs. Such changes in the value of the environment owe much to a fuller realisation of its resources and an active utilisation of their opportunities by its population; investigations along these lines suggest interesting contrasts with the highland valleys of Scotland and Wales.

THE people of these upper valleys, with the many easy passes leading south are typical—swarthy complexions, dark eyes, long thin faces with pointed features and, in the main, long heads. The low average height of both men and women is very marked and, even after eliminating the "foreign" crippled who seek relief at the spas, there is a high percentage of deformity among the rural population that suggests the possibility of excessive inbreeding of an under-nourished stock. No typical costume is worn but shepherds and poorer labourers are easily distinguished by their long, loosely-fitting smocks, and the peasant women by their voluminous, black, pleated skirts, tight bodices and white "kerchief" headdress. Generally speaking the factory worker appears to be a better physical type than the peasant, possibly because many of the former are imported foreigners. Further, it must be remembered that amongst the factory employees of native origin are many who are also peasant proprietors or cultivators of comparatively good means.

SETTLEMENT has concentrated in the two chief towns, Bagnères and Campan, and in the villages of Gerde, Asté, Beaudéan and Ste. Marie. The nucleated village is characteristic of the lower and more open valleys, but where they begin to narrow and take on an aspect of stifling

confinement, villages are replaced by scattered farms of a poor type. Ultimately these give way to miserable shepherds' huts that can scarcely be termed dwellings. Occasionally the cluster of farms forming a village is somewhat rudely disturbed in symmetry by a recent introduction in the form of a "country house."

EACH town and village site conforms closely to the topographical peculiarities of its neighbourhood. Campan is located in a narrow defile covering the through routes to neighbouring valleys; a position whose importance is exemplified by historical events, particularly that of the Moorish invasion. Bagnères lies in close association with the "spring line," on the old Roman "route thermale," at the point where the Adour valley commences to open out to the plain of Tarbes. Gerde, Asté, Beaudéan and Ste. Marie mark the entries of tributary valleys affording practicable routes to high pastures or to subsidiary cols, beyond whose lower approaches settlement has rarely penetrated.

AGRICULTURE is the dominant form of activity on the lower slopes and on the valley floor. Here glacial and fluvio-glacial deposits

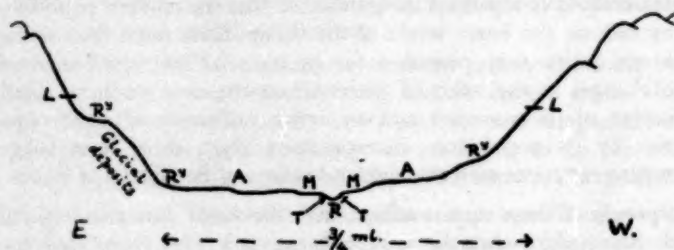


FIG. 2. SECTION OF VALLEY NORTH OF BEAUDÉAN.

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------|
| A—Agricultural Strips. | M—Meadow Land. |
| R—River Adour. | Ry—Roads. |
| L—Limit of Cultivation. | T—Trees. |

provide a fertile soil of varying thickness. Frequently an interesting zonal distribution occurs whereby the lower and wider plains near the mouth of the valley are meadow lands, the clay slopes that flank them planted with cereals, fodder crops and potatoes and the flat terraces used as pastures. Above the level of these, natural pasture or woodland is the rule according to the nature of the parent rock, the former being usual on the "dry" limestones, on the gentler slopes and above the tree line, the latter on the dolomites and metamorphic rocks, e.g., the schists. Deforestation is almost complete on the main valley floor except in the immediate proximity of the river, but in the tributary valleys it has not yet been carried to any marked extent. In the main valley where cultivation is greatest, tree growth varies in intensity and upward range from side to side in response to aspect and the thickness and nature of the soil. Cultivation is closely controlled

by climatic conditions. Fortunately latitude ensures freedom from summer frosts despite the high altitude (550 metres at Bagnères to 1,000 metres at Gripp, the limit of cultivation), but this shows its influence in the tendency to concentrate on quick-ripening crops such as barley and early varieties of maize. The summer of 1926, i.e., the period of observation, was exceptional in that it was the driest experienced in more than 30 years, but the summer season is normally fairly dry. Precipitation is heaviest in autumn and winter and averages for the region about 1,250 mms. annually with 180 wet days. Naturally the distribution over the region is very irregular by reason of its topography; this is well shown by the following table:—

Place.	Altitude.	Precipitation.	No. of Wet Days.
Bagnères ..	550 metres.	1,250 mms.	178
Gripp ..	1,000 "	1,230 "	180
Pic du Midi (1)	2,300 "	2,300 "	185
do. (2)	2,860 "	1,490 "	—

WINDS with a westerly component are the rain-bearers; during the winter half of the year, N.W., in the summer half, W. and S.W. Autumn brings very stormy weather, inimical to harvesting, with sudden severe downpours causing rapid floods and an extraordinary transport of boulders. The summer period of low water is relied upon for clearing the rock-strewn channels lest the fertile valley-floor should become a marsh or a stony waste. The snow falls of winter are usually light and cause little hindrance to traffic on the lower levels, but Spring brings the flood-water of the melting snows on the crests and a delayed Spring reacts adversely upon agricultural operations. The chief danger in summer is that from thunderstorms causing sudden floods and beating down crops. Against this must be set the valley winds of summer that are such an agreeable feature of this "invalids'" climate.

APART from the general crops already mentioned the proximity of a tourist market has encouraged the growth of market-garden produce—small vegetables, onions, garlic, peas and beans, fruits, pears, apples, strawberries, &c., and flowers. An interesting concentration, almost peculiar to Asté is that of carrot growing. The carrots are grown as a winter crop and are planted in October after the cereals and vegetables have been gathered. They form a money crop and are disposed of in the markets of Bagnères and Tarbes. It is significant that by this means the population of Asté is enabled to purchase certain necessities and luxuries that are beyond the reach of neighbouring villages.

ON the rich valley floor strip cultivation is the rule. The land is divided amongst peasant proprietors whose holding averages about three hectares. Larger holdings up to twenty hectares are customary on the slopes. In addition to private ownership of the agricultural

³ LES PHÉNOMÈNES MÉTÉOROLOGIQUES DANS LES PYRÉNÉES. L. Rudeaux, p. 13.

See also RÉGIME PLUVIOMÉTRIQUE DE LA FRANCE. 2cPte. A. Angot Ann. de Géog. : v. 28, pp. 1—27.

territory, the various communes own certain forest rights, mountain pastures and occasionally, e.g., the commune of Campan, marble quarries. The communal pastures and woodland are customarily hired to farmers on the Tarbes plain for summer grazing and the proceeds are devoted to educational equipment, the endowment of hospitals and other social needs.⁶

THE smallholding supplies the household needs of its cultivator in grain and vegetables, and the countryside presents a varied aspect by the alternation of barley, wheat, maize, potatoes and meadowland. A system of rotation is general, the most usual being barley, or wheat, maize and potatoes or artificial meadow. Yields are fairly high, e.g., maize—30 hectolitres per hectare, wheat—25 hectolitres per hectare, and this is, in part, due to a careful arrangement of irrigation channels supplied from the Adour. The main runnels are parallel to the river and throw off subsidiary ditches as occasion demands; as in the East, these minor channels are blocked with turf and stones when necessary. Adjoining the river marshy stretches are frequent, and here drainage replaces irrigation, while hay is the sole crop. A good year means three crops of hay, an average yield being about 7,000 kgms. per hectare per annum. Subject to certain limitations imposed by the Forestry Administration, the communal woodland is free to the peasants and provides fuel, leaf-mould and animal food, while the common pastures are reserved in part for the free use of inhabitants of the commune.

THERE appears to be little use made of artificial manures. The animal product, too, is often stored in a very primitive manner and suffers from exposure to wind, rain and sun; manure pits constructed to retain the valuable liquid are few and far between. Superphosphate is in use to a limited extent on the valley floor; on the slopes where over-cropping and over-stocking of the pastures by cattle, sheep and goats have made heavy demands upon the natural phosphates of the soil, superphosphate is almost unknown.

THE equipment of the farms is poor. Ploughing is done by oxen dragging out-of-date implements of inferior quality. It is strange to observe so little effort to economise labour. Naturally the size of the holdings prevents the use of elaborate machinery, but no real attempt at co-operative farming appears to have been made, a fact that is, at first sight, amazing in face of the high degree to which communal administration has been raised. There are, however, certain indications of progress in this direction, notably in the co-operative farmers' shop in Bagnères-de-Bigorre, the use of electrical machinery for threshing on co-operative lines and the establishment of a communal bakery in the villages of Gerde and Asté where the cost of fuel has

⁶ Thus in Campan the school library needs are met from this fund and poor children are supplied with free text books.

rendered it imperative. The growth of this spirit of co-operation is having its effects upon methods of cultivation and upon the general organisation of agriculture, and it will doubtless spread rapidly as its advantages are more clearly appreciated.⁷

PRODUCE surplus to the needs of the family is disposed of in Bagnères, Tarbes and Lourdes to hotels, schools and permanent or temporary inhabitants, the marketing being done by women who conduct laden mules or donkeys to the railhead at Bagnères. The "octroi" on all roads leading to this town is an interesting sight on market (Saturday) and fair (twice each month) days. There, the municipal tax, levied on all live stock and vegetables intended for the market is collected. The tax varies according to the size and value of the animal, e.g., 10 centimes for a small pig, 50 centimes for one full-grown, and the vigorous search that is part of the operation is accompanied by disputes carried on with true Gallic enthusiasm.

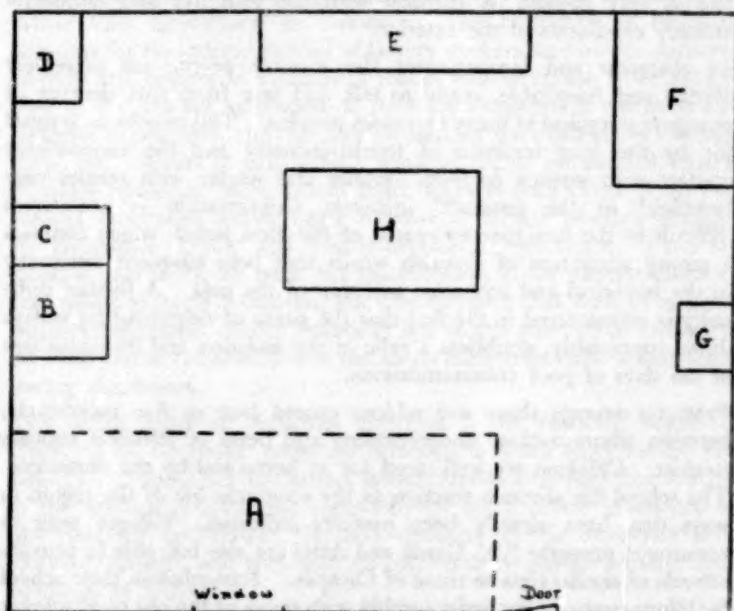


FIG. 3. PLAN OF HOUSE OF PEASANT (GERDE). SIZE 12' x 10'.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------|
| A—Bed, curtained off. | B—Open Fireplace. |
| C—Cooking Stove | D—Cupboard. |
| E—Dresser. | F—Cupboard. |
| G—Marble sink, duct through Wall. | H—Table. |
| Also three chairs in room. | |

Better class house has bedspace on an upper floor, also used as a store-house and drying place.

⁷ Possibly the growth of irrigation has tended to break down the old communal methods of farming—cf. LA HAUTE VALLÉE DU GAVE DE PAU." H. Cavaillès, *Ann. de Géog.* V. 32, p. 522.

THERE is a general similarity and uniformity in the buildings throughout the valley except of course in Bagnères, and in the case of the more palatial country residences that break the surface of the southward-facing slopes of the Gerde-Asté section of the valley. Naturally local materials are provided—stone (marbles, schists and limestones), slates for roofing and for the windward sides of the houses, and timber. The poorer type of house comprises one or two rooms on the ground floor with a storage loft above, but even in the better class dwellings that have upper rooms these are used for storing crops and vegetables, fuel blocks, implements, &c., and for drying maize cobs on verandahs. Where the house is single-roomed, kitchen and bedroom are combined (cf. the old farm houses of Cardiganshire and Central Wales), and in a few cases cooking stoves were observed in addition to the fireplace. The influence of the local conditions is evident in the marble sinks and slated floors. These aid the cleanliness of the interiors, a feature that is very marked by contrast with the primitive and unhealthy sanitary conditions of the exterior.

IN character and temperament the country people are extremely cordial and hospitable, ready to talk and free from that distrust of strangers so typical of many mountain peoples. This may be accounted for by the long tradition of tourist-industry and the concomitant contact with visitors in both summer and winter with results very beneficial to the peasants' incomes. Conversation is sometimes difficult to the foreigner by reason of the local *patois*, which contains a strong admixture of Spanish words that bear eloquent testimony to the historical and economic tradition of the past. A further difficulty is encountered in the fact that the *patois* of neighbouring valleys differ appreciably, doubtless a relic of the isolation and individualism of the days of poor communications.

FAMILIES average three and seldom exceed four or five individuals, between whom a close understanding and bond of affection appears to exist. Children are well cared for at home and by the commune. The school life shows a reaction to the economic life of the region in ways that have already been partially indicated. Villages poor in communal property (i.e., Gerde and Asté) are also less able to provide schools of similar class to those of Campan. Nevertheless, their school buildings compare not unfavourably with many of the old rural schools in this country, and are just as well equipped. An interesting type is the infant play schools seen in Gerde and Asté, where children between the ages of two and six are cared for whilst the mothers are absent at work in the fields. The normal age at which elementary schooling finishes is fourteen, but, provided a satisfactory standard of attainment is reached, attendance may cease at an earlier age. The school periods correspond to the demands for labour on the land. There is little holiday between October and July, but during the late

summer months when harvesting calls for many hands the schools are closed. The ravages of the war are very apparent in the schools; many of the children were found to be fatherless, the normal number of children in the schools has decreased by more than fifty per cent. though the peak has been passed and conditions are now reverting towards the original.

AMONG all the peasant types there is a deep religious sense; almost without exception they are Roman Catholic by profession, and the great influence of the proximity of Lourdes cannot be neglected. Wayside crosses are more numerous and better kept than is the case in Northern France, and in many ways a profound contrast between this and other French regions in the matter of religious observance may be observed.

BEFORE leaving this brief survey of peasant life one or two striking differences between the various villages are worthy of notice. By comparison with Asté (pop. 250), Gerde is poorer in type and industrial rather than agricultural in character. The proximity to Bagnères accounts for the greater number of factory workers, and for the apparent poverty and neglect of agriculture that is noticed in the latter village. Few of the peasant cultivators of Asté are employed in the mills and factories of Bagnères, and this may account for the existence of a winter crop, viz., carrots in this village, while at Gerde no parallel occurs. Further, Beaudéan, more distant from Bagnères than either of the two villages mentioned above, has a number of factory workers amongst its population (150), and poorly-developed agriculture. Certainly suitable land is scarcer here, but the influence of the electric tramway that passes through Beaudéan, but misses Gerde and Asté, is of paramount importance. Since Beaudéan lies on the main route to the Pic du Midi and to the chief cols it has also a fairly important tourist trade during the season.

THE valley focus of industrial activities is the railhead, Bagnères. Here are to be found room for factories, a small local market, the amenities of social life that attract labour, facilities for easy distribution of the finished product and comparatively ready access to sources of raw materials and power. Broadly speaking all the industries have local associations, and they may be conveniently classified under four headings as follows:—

1. Mining—marble and slate quarries; clay products.
2. Forestry—saw mills, joinery, furniture and toys.
3. Animals—wool, leather, dairy products.
4. Human—all forms of activity based upon tourist traffic, e.g., hotels, cafés, thermes, motor and mule transport, guides, &c.

If these be considered in conjunction with the pastoral, agricultural and gardening pursuits, a close approximation to the valley-section

may be traced. In close relation to the whole there exists a varied manifestation of the professions, responses to the more intricate material and to the spiritual demands of the community.

It would not be profitable to analyse the occupational groupings that have arisen to meet the needs of tourist traffic solely, for they show a great resemblance to similar developments in this country and elsewhere in France, though there is a religious background that imparts distinctive characteristics; the significance of this is difficult to assess but might well repay closer study.

THE "mining" group is represented at Bagnères-de-Bigorre by two marble-working factories, the larger of which was visited by certain members of the party. Sixty workers are employed on an eight-hour day basis. In almost every case "piecework" rates are paid, the average earnings per individual varying from 16 to 35 francs a day. The marble is obtained in part from quarries 15 kilometres beyond Campan at the small hamlet of Gaillole, being 4 kms. from the Col d'Aspin. It is brought to the factory by motor lorries, but for certain kinds of work Italian and Belgian varieties are imported. Placed on the left bank of the Adour this factory is able to use the river water both for turbines to generate power for its machinery and in the actual cutting and polishing processes. The manufacture is of the heavy type, tombstones, memorial tablets and mantelpieces, and this is also the case in the second factory situated on a leat of the Adour. The smaller marble objects offered for sale to tourists are not made in this valley.

FIVE kilometres west of Bagnères in the Gaillette Valley lies Labassère, the centre of slate-quarrying. Here several interesting features are exhibited. In the first place the labour employed is mainly Spanish. This is explained by the physical superiority of the Spaniard, but it throws a sidelight on other questions, such as that of economy in wages and the problem of labour shortage that has followed the war. In this connection the employment of women for such tedious and often arduous work as loading rubbish and talus is significant. Secondly, the Frenchmen employed here spoke an entirely different dialect from that of Bagnères and the Adour villages, thus emphasising the isolation and individual character of these high parallel valleys, especially those with different specialisations.

The quarrying is carried on at the cliff face, and by tunnelling; the slabs cut out are split to economic sizes lower down the valley in plants driven by water to which they are carried along different roads by motor lorries. Roofing slates are the only products.

CLAY working is not developed beyond the "housecraft" stage, though the glacial deposits contain seams of suitable material. Occasional potters are to be found earning a fair livelihood from the making of plant pots and kitchen utensils.

OCCUPATIONS derived from forestry are concentrated in three saw mills and joineries at Bagnères. The raw product at the moment is almost entirely of local origin, for an adverse exchange and the withdrawal of preferential railway rates makes it difficult to use foreign timber or even the pine of the Landes. The forests of the valley are administered by the State from Pau. They range between 500 and 1,600 metres and are mainly beech and pine; approximate percentages for the commune of Bagnères are as follows:—Beech, 64 per cent.; Pine, 30 per cent.; Oak, 3 per cent.; others, 3 per cent.

PINES go to the saw mills; oak, which is usually poor, is used as fuel while the leaves are collected for manure, a practice that is bad for the future of the forest. Certain woodlands are controlled by the State and reserved for general and tourist purposes. The commune of Bagnères, unlike its neighbours, has little reserve of timber for local industrial uses. It is obvious that great reliance must be placed upon foreign supplies of timber; this is very marked in the largest of the three saw mills of Bagnères where almost all the other important factors necessary to the localisation of industry are to be found. Cheap electric power generated in nearby stations, cheap labour (Spanish) and location at the railhead with a good market close at hand in the Usine Lorraine Dietrich, a railway wagon works turning out about five waggon per day. All things considered the future of the timber industries appears very bright in view of the important local developments and needs in tramways, railways, electrical and photographic industries.

THE Lorraine Dietrich works is organised on the modern system of mass production. Workers are paid at piece rates, except in the case of casual labourers, and the influence of the system of construction upon the skill and speed of individual workers is very apparent. The number of workmen is 350, of whom one-half is of Spanish origin by parentage, though born in France and retaining their Spanish nationality. The shadow of conscription! Interesting comparisons are suggested by recognition of this peculiar occurrence, e.g., the long historic associations of the two slopes of the Pyrenees, the superior waterpower and industry of the northern slope, the attraction of higher wages upon the neighbouring Spanish population and the effect of a war, plus a declining birth-rate, upon labour on the French slope.

IN these works a 49½-hour week is the rule, commencing on Mondays at 8 a.m., but on other days at 7.30 a.m., with Saturday afternoon from 12.30 p.m. commencing the week-end. The concession of half-an-hour on Monday morning is an interesting practical recognition of human psychology!

CONDITIONS of working appeared to be good and not rigorous. Absence from work during Spring or late Summer for several days on end carries no penalty, for so many of the workers are also peasant proprietors

that the necessity is admitted. Even at other times of the year it is customary for the working day of the factory hand to be extended to 12 hours by the demands of his holding. The Lorraine Dietrich Company pays a bonus to its married employees according to the number of children in the family ; it is worthy of note that this payment is not aided by any form of Government grant.

THE Upper Adour is not such an important source of power as many Pyrenean streams for it has no glacier feeds on the surrounding heights, but against this must be placed the abundant rainfall and the presence of numerous small lake reservoirs by which many of the head-water tributaries are maintained. The net result is that sufficient energy is generated to meet local needs in light and power, e.g., the station at Gripp develops from the main stream the motive power for the Bagnères-Gripp tramway, the Montgaillard station operates the electrified section of the Midi railway between Tarbes and Bagnères, while the Chiroulet station on the Adour de l'Esponne is the headquarters of the Société des Forces Motrices du lac Bleu which supplies the Campan valley with light and power. In addition to the particular activities mentioned above one or other of these main stations supplies power to several of the factories and villages between Bagnères and Tarbes. Minor qualities of power are developed by factories situated on the river or on leats ; in the case of small establishments this is often sufficient to meet their needs.

LAST, but far from least in economic and social importance, there is the flourishing tourist industry. At Bagnères-de-Bigorre alone there are five thermes, thirty-two cafes and sixty-nine hotels ; in addition a large proportion of private houses are of the apartment class. This is all the more remarkable when the small size of the town is appreciated (pop. 8,293). In an average season 30-40,000 visitors are accommodated, and if there be added to these an approximation of the number that pass through on the tour of the " Route des Pyrénées," the total approaches 100,000. Casino, open-air theatre, concerts, cinemas, guides, motors—all the typical attributes of a town whose functions are in great part recreational and health-giving are here, yet the emphasis is upon the latter. For this geological structure and the resultant mineral springs are responsible. The springs, numbering 38, are divisible into three classes, viz. :—

1. Cold ferruginous.
2. Warm calcium sulphate (varying in temperature from 27° C. to 51° C.), and
3. Cold sodium sulphate.

The evolution of Bagnères might well be pictured as a series of periods of greatness as a spa, the peaks occurring during the days of Roman control, under the rule of the Visigoths, in the 14th and 16th centuries, and since the late 17th century the growth has been steady and practically continuous. To attempt any complete account of the therapeutic

virtues of the waters as baths or beverages would be a colossal task ; the number of visitors is in itself an indication of the variety of curative properties. In recent years a new phase has been entered by the development of an export trade in soda sulphate water for which a large and ready market is secured. In passing, it is worth while remarking upon the associations that exist between the spiritual centre of Lourdes and this neighbouring town of Bagnères, but the more significant contrasts that illustrate so strikingly the profound economic influence of a religious conviction must be studied on the spot before they can be thoroughly appreciated.

BAGNÈRES is also, to a limited extent, a centre for winter sports of specialised character. The lines of patient anglers so familiar in France are absent from the Adour in these higher reaches, but shooting and dove-trapping are favourite substitutes ; for these and climbing activities the town is the headquarters of several organised clubs. It is both the threshold of the mountains and the product of their gifts. The passage of Time has but eased the limitations they impose on the human communities in their midst by increasing the mobility of these groupings and so facilitating their contacts with the outside world and its resources. From earliest times a market-line town and the pivot of the pass, then a holiday and health resort, the old walls, piscine and other remains stand as broken but eloquent witnesses to the continuity of function through the ages. Enriched by outside contacts, life nevertheless remains more rural than urban, and the valley draws from its surroundings the mainsprings of its nourishment. Still semi-pastoral in outlook the peoples of the valley transmit to the lowland world rich gifts of inspiration and spiritual stimulation, and thus reflect most truly the inner significance of their environment.

NOTE ON TRANSHUMANCE.

THE time available for observation in the region did not permit a detailed study of this important aspect of the pastoral economy which would repay closer investigation. While not so extensive and highly organised as farther east in Haut Ariege and Andorra large flocks of sheep and a few cows and herds were observed and their movements examined. Movement of flocks from the plains to the mountains commences in June and it is worth while considering how far the change of pasture is a " health " cure as well as a means of ensuring food ; shepherds assert that without this regular alternation and change in air there develops a tendency to sterility. The stock farmers of the lowlands leave all necessary arrangements to an agent who is responsible for marking the troops by colours, symbols, letters or combinations of these, after which the gradual ascent through intermediate to higher pastures begins. The hire of pastures is frequently met by leaving the animal manure which is collected, dried, and sold in the

valley villages. The speed of movement is increased when necessary by scattering salt (or pretending to do so) ahead of the flock, and the difficulty of possible straying is met by fitting the leaders with a bell—the “bourrombo”; one being also carried by the shepherds. In places may be seen iron steps; when these are mounted by a shepherd the sheep in the vicinity immediately collect around him and may so be checked in numbers. The size of flocks dealt with by the agents varies, but a full troop never exceeds 6,000 animals; to each 500 there is one shepherd assisted by dogs often specially trained for this work by the “Club français du chien de berger.”

AN interesting feature of the transhumance is that the time for upward movement to commence is indicated by a change in the habits of the sheep. As the spring develops into early summer they begin to collect into groups that remain passive and unwilling to feed; if the vigilance of the dogs relaxes, these groups scatter wildly in all directions, regardless of obstacles or the commands of the shepherds. This nervous condition continues until the ascent is begun.

ONE of the major problems is the provision of water. This is provided at different heights by a careful system of pipes and troughs connected with springs. This is merely one aspect of the great care that is exercised by the shepherds over the flocks in their charge, for stringent regulations are enforced upon the agents by the owners, e.g., in case of death, the skin of the animal must be produced, and when ewes lamb, the mothers and young are returned as early as possible by muleteers to the plain.

THE descent commences in the early days of September and is a quicker journey, fewer halts being made than on the forward movement. The return of the flocks to their owners is made the occasion of a festival, often marred by noisy disputes concerning alleged breaches of agreement by the agents, with frequent recourse subsequently to litigation.

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LES PYRÉNÉES. M. Sorre. Paris. 1922.

CONTAINS a useful list of references arranged under headings of structure, climate, &c., and deals with general aspects in a very able manner.

FOR detailed work on the Adour valley the following will be found of use:—

DE TARBES À TRAVERS LES PYRÉNÉES CENTRALES. E. Raysse.

ÉTUDES SUR BAGNÈRES-DE-BIGORRE. Dr. Lafforgue. 1893.

L'OBSERVATOIRE DU PIC DU MIDI. C. Dauzère. 1921.

LA MONTAGNE, pp. 156-162 and 197-198. G. Ledormeur. 1921.

LES PYRÉNÉES FRANÇAISES. P. Perret.

and numerous papers of geological, mineralogical and botanical interest in the BULLETIN RAMOND and the BULLETIN PYRÉNÉEN.

COMMUNICATIONS.

THE NEED OF A SOCIAL ORDNANCE SURVEY.*

A MAP is a fine example of the power of fact systematically recorded. It contains in a condensed pictorial form an immense number of dry matter-of-fact statements about hills and valleys and human habitations, collected with the main purpose of helping the traveller on his way about the area which it represents. Whatever the purpose of his journey and whether he proposes to travel by air or by land, on foot, by bicycle, or in a motor car, he will find in the map at least the rudiments of the information he requires.

A JOURNEY would be much more of an adventure if there were no maps. The traveller's plans would have to leave a much wider margin for contingencies. If he were a cautious person who wished to minimize risk he would set about collecting information in advance from others who had crossed the same area in a similar way. This would take time and the information collected would be restricted to what seemed relevant to the journey proposed. A change of plan might at any moment make it useless. If on the other hand he belonged to the noble order of adventurers, he would prefer that his journey should remain a leap in the dark. He would deride the caution of those who collected information, and observe that his procedure not only showed a more generous confidence in human nature and God's providence, but also left him much wider freedom of action. Knowing nothing in advance of any route he was free to take whatever offered.

POLITICAL action, until recent times and largely still to-day, has been very like a series of journeys in a country of which there are no maps. There is the further complication that the politician as a general rule has no clear notion of the place he wants to get to. Sometimes he merely wants people to think he is travelling. But even if he is trying to do something, i.e., to make some change in the body of society, he is not properly provided with maps. In nine cases out of ten he can find no reliable description of the body which he proposes to alter. Then our politicians distribute themselves between the two types mentioned above—the plungers who make a shot at it, and the plodder who sets about collecting information. But in the keen competition of modern politics the plodder does not long survive. His opportunity is past before his facts are ready.

MAN'S travel perplexities are many enough, but the worst and most fundamental of them have been satisfactorily solved by the device of the Ordnance Survey. Note four characteristics of its work.

- (1) Its *Objectivity*. The information given is not restricted to the requirements of any particular journey, direction, or mode of transit, but is helpful in any journey by any kind of transport.
- (2) Its *Uniformity*. The same information recorded in the same way over the whole area covered.
- (3) Its *Completeness*. The whole country is covered.
- (4) Its *Continuity*. The surveyors are always at work, checking the information collected and revising the map.

WHAT I wish to suggest is that the worst of man's political perplexities are capable of being solved on similar lines. Instead of leaps in the dark, diversified by frenzied efforts to collect information at short notice, we need a single organisation, continually at work, creating and revising on a uniform system a social map of the country. Such a map could not be presented in pictorial form, like our physical maps; but there is no reason why its statements should not possess the same objectivity, uniformity, and completeness as theirs.

PRACTICAL problems as to the execution of such a plan, if its desirability is conceded, are many. Should it not be a task of government, rather than of

*Abstract of an address by Professor J. L. Stocks, at the annual dinner of the Sociological Society, Leplay House and the Tours Association, on October 28th, 1927.

private enterprise? In the end probably it should, but at the present time private enterprise is perhaps to be preferred. Should the Universities take the responsibility? The Universities have no technique or tradition in the observation of what is going on at their doors. But there are settlements and other voluntary organisations already engaged in observation of the kind required, and there is Leplay House prepared to advise and co-ordinate. Out of this material could not a start be made? A very little systematic work on uniform lines in regard to the crying problems of modern life would provide solid ground at last for political action and give our politicians—plodders and plungers alike—a better chance.

J. L. STOCKS.

"THE FATE OF SOCIOLOGY IN ENGLAND."

IN the recently issued Proceedings of the American Sociological Society for 1927, there is included an address by Professor Harry Elmer Barnes under the above title. He affirms that, so far, there has appeared in England no one who specifically deserves the title of sociologist. Herbert Spencer he dismisses as "really a cosmic philosopher who turned to social problems as an incidental phase of the application of his laws of physical development to social evolution." And the other synthetic thinkers who have adorned the social field in English science, Professor Barnes rates as social philosophers rather than as sociologists. And he goes on to say: "though there has been much invaluable work by specialists in various branches of social science, which can be exploited by sociologists, scarcely a one of these specialists has been adequately oriented by reading or instruction in that basic or synthetic discipline, sociology, which presents and illumines the social process as a whole and should form the background for every specialised form of research in the social sciences. Hence, the history of sociology in England is essentially a record of the development of more adequate knowledge, more precise methods, and a more synthetic orientation in the special social sciences of anthropogeography, biology, psychology, anthropology, history, economics, political science, and social reform. There has been accumulated in such specialised endeavour a wealth of material to be organised and exploited by future English sociologists."

"The strongest force making for a sociological movement in England has been the Sociological Society of London. . . . This has done much to promote discussion of sociological subjects, to encourage social reform, and to bring prominent Englishmen together for the ostensible purpose of dealing with sociological problems. It has also published an excellent journal, the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. What there is in the way of formal sociology in England is due chiefly to the Editor of the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW and his associates."

FINALLY Professor Barnes considers the reasons for the backwardness of sociology in England; and he sums up as follows: "It is a subject worthy of speculation as to why sociology, as such, should have taken such slight root in England. There are doubtless many reasons. Academic sociology is a symptom of contemporaneity in curriculum and pedagogical ideals. With the notable exception of the University of London and a few other recently established municipal universities, British education is still primarily mediæval or humanistic, being concerned chiefly with the classics and dialectic and metaphysics. The ideal is still to train a cultured gentleman in terms of the older criteria of culture and learning. The objective is to prepare one to move easily and urbanely in formal social circles rather than actually to understand the processes of human society—to be in "society" rather than to understand social life. The more aristocratic groups in the colleges look forward to public life, and here the rhetorical and dialectical

technique is viewed as the main avenue to success. Men are trained to argue with charm and lofty detachment rather than to investigate with precision. The whole process is a dignified and seductive flight from reality. The generalised approach to nature and society is through dialectic and metaphysics—Platonic rather than pragmatic and empirical. The gap between normative and *a priori* social philosophy on the one hand and the inductive and specialised social sciences on the other has never been bridged as it should be by general sociology."

"IN contrast to this unreality of the education of the English gentleman and philosopher, we have the specialised training of those going into the civil service or the professions. The specialising social scientists have neither the time, inclination, nor capacity to provide that generalised and synthetic view of the social process as a whole which is the true function of the principles of sociology, and cannot be executed by any brand of social metaphysics. Further, the long-established position and prestige of history, political philosophy, and economics in England have made it difficult to realise the need of a more basic and elemental social science, such as sociology. The reformers engaged in the active strife of partisan struggle and class collisions cannot well be expected to pause for sociological orientation and direction unless they have been previously accustomed to such attitudes and procedure by systematic discipline and instruction."

"THEREFORE, the net conclusion of this hasty summary of sociological trends and developments in England would seem to be that the specialists in the various branches of social science have accumulated a vast body of data and generalisations which would make possible a remarkable flowering of sociology in England if the inclination and personnel to do so were present. Yet the seductive and promising nature of the invitation to synthetic achievement here is only exceeded by the prospect that nothing will be done about it for a long time to come."

SOCIOLOGY IN MONTPELLIER.

PROFESSOR ELLWOOD, head of the Department of Sociology in the University of Missouri, who is known to sociologists in Britain not only by his many admirable treatises, but also by the numerous personal contacts he made when he spent his sabbatical year among us in 1915, is again in the enjoyment of that privilege of American universities. But this time he is spending it on the Continent. Happening recently to be in Montpellier, he was invited to give an address before the University on the Contemporary State of Sociology in America. The Editor of this REVIEW was amongst the large audience who heard Professor Ellwood, and has pleasure in reporting the opening paragraph of a notable address. Said Professor Ellwood: "I esteem it an honour to speak in this ancient University, not only because of its renown, but also because the city of Montpellier was the birth-place of Auguste Comte, whom I revere as my master. While it is a pleasure and a privilege to speak in this place, permit me to express my regret that I do not find here in this University, which has such notable achievements in many lines to its credit, a Chair of Sociology dedicated to the memory of Auguste Comte. It would seem to me that the noblest monument which France could erect to the memory of Comte would be to establish here an International Institute of Sociology, together with an International Cité-Universitaire Méditerranéenne (such as my friend Professor Geddes has been helping to develop), which would attract here students from all the nations. In no other way could this University more distinguish itself in the eyes of the whole world."

THE SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

RECENT SOCIOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS ABROAD.

THE great development of sociological interest on the Continent of Europe since the war is very notable. To information already given in the REVIEW about this Post-war movement may be added the following notes on other continental moves in a similar direction. A Sociological Society of Geneva has been formed of which Professor Duprat (who holds the Chair of Sociology and Social Economy in the University of Geneva) is the President, and presumably the initiator. The Foundation Members of the Society include Professors or Lecturers on the following subjects:—History of Political Economy, Human Geography, Social Zoology, Experimental Psychology, Archaeology, Psycho-pathology, Philosophy of Science, Statistics, Pedagogy, Political Economy, Anthropology, Philosophy, Ethics, Law, Psychiatry.

THE object of the new Society is described as "an exclusively scientific study of social facts by inductive analysis and verification of hypotheses by means of all possible data by positive observation." And further, the new Society declares that it "makes appeal to the collaboration of all specialists capable of bringing elements of information and means of control helpful towards synthetic conceptions."

IN Budapest there has not only been founded the Hungarian Society of Social Science, but also a Hungarian Institute of Sociography, with Professor Krisztics as Director. From the monthly review of the former an abstract is given below of a paper by L. Ottlik on the three British Empires.

ALSO may be cited here a declaration by Professor Florian Znaniecki of the scope and aims of a Sociological Institute in Poznan (Poland). He says:—"I have attempted to establish an Institute for Theoretic Sociology in Poznan (Poland), and to train a number of assistants and students in positive sociological investigation. Since there was no university in this city before 1919, I found here a perfectly virgin soil; and since the funds for the Institute were given by the government, without restrictions as to the subject and method of study, I was completely free and unhampered by practical considerations; I could outline the program of the Institute with regard exclusively to its theoretic significance. But there the trouble began. First of all came the problem of selection of materials. The Institute was dedicated to sociology, not to economics, or law, or politics, or social reform, or public hygiene, or eugenics. But how were the empirical sociological data to be isolated and separated from economic, legal, medical data? Furthermore, supposing we had an adequate criterion for choosing sociological material from the infinite complexity of human life, how explain to assistants and students what should be done with these data, what scientific problems should be put, and by what ways satisfactory positive solutions of these problems can be worked out? It was not simply a matter of studying some particular problem spontaneously chosen or imposed by circumstances—as is usually the case in empirical sociological investigations—but a question of making a formal survey of the social field open before sociological research without interfering with the programs of institutions devoted to other sciences. Granted that any narrow *a priori* schematisation should be avoided and an exact problematisation developed gradually in the very course of research, still, at least the general direction of sociological progress must be indicated, ways of saving time and energy shown, and dangers foreseen. And neither in the records of the work of others nor in my own previous research could I discover adequate standards for guidance in this program."

PROFESSOR Znaniecki has contributed to *THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY* for January, 1927, a long article in which he claims to have solved the problems of method indicated above. His own abstract of this article runs as follows :—

" *Necessity of determining the object matter of sociology.* In the present chaos of different conflicting presuppositions and methods found in sociological textbooks and monographs it is impossible either to reach a systematisation of the results of sociological research or to plan a rational program of future studies without a reconsideration of the current conceptions of the object matter of our science. *Sociology as a humanistic science.*—Sociology must have a certain class of data as its object matter, and these data must be such as to allow a rational body of knowledge to be constructed about them. There are two distinct classes of scientific data : cultural and natural. Cultural phenomena when taken as objects of theoretic reflection already possess a humanistic coefficient, of which natural phenomena are deprived. Since it is impossible to combine any knowledge about natural facts with any knowledge about cultural facts into one logical system, sociology must choose whether it should be exclusively a natural or exclusively a humanistic science. The main interest of sociologists has always been in data with the humanistic coefficient, and it should in future confine itself to such. *Criticism of sociology as science of concrete societies.*—The oldest definition of sociology is that of a generalising and explanatory science of society taken as a concrete collectivity of human beings in their total cultural life. This makes sociology almost identical with either philosophy of history or comparative ethnography. It is based upon certain postulates concerning society which on investigation prove misleading. *Criticism of sociology as general science of culture.*—The second and more generally accepted definition of sociology claims for it the rôle of fundamental science of culture in assuming that all cultural phenomena are social. But the world of culture is composed of objective systems with a fixed rational order among their elements, independent even of social communication and co-operation ; these are already divided among the special sciences, and the only general science of them which is possible is philosophy. Sociology can only hope that there are systems of specifically social phenomena left to it. *Definition of social phenomena.*—Every cultural science deals with a particular class of values and a corresponding class of human activities. We can distinguish the following classes—hedonistic, technical, economic, legal, religious, symbolic, aesthetic, and intellectual phenomena. There remains another class—men as objects, i.e., individuals and groups as specific social values given to empirical human objects, and activities tending to influence individuals or groups. This is the proper field of sociology. Here we find four different categories of typically social phenomena : (1) a single action aiming to modify in some way an individual or a collectivity, its essential elements being a tendency of the subject to influence the object in a definite way, and the reaction of the object ; (2) reciprocal activity, giving rise to a social relation when the behaviour of two or more individuals toward each other is regulated by norms imposing social obligations ; (3) the social individual as viewed by his social environment and himself with regard to his physical aspect, psychological type, moral type, and social originality ; (4) the social group, which appears under three different aspects : as an aggregate of individuals, a social organisation, and a moral union. Sociology divides into four branches corresponding to these categories, respectively. *Relation between sociology and other cultural sciences.*—Sociology thus defined nearly coincides with the actual empirical research of modern sociologists, and also includes much material now being dealt with by several branches of

investigations whose claims to be separate sciences are not well founded, i.e., the materials of criminology, ethics, theory of education, and political theory treated from a comparative and explanatory point of view. Out of the materials now dealt with by individual and group psychology, sociology claims all those with an intrinsically social character, i.e., which involve particular aspects of activities bearing on human individuals and groups. Because there is hardly any concrete cultural process which does not contain social elements among others, sociology is closely connected with other cultural sciences : it is the central cultural science."

THE THREE BRITISH EMPIRES.

THE following is the abstract of the paper by L. Ottlik referred to above. "THE British Empire of to-day is a complex of three different systems. Taken literally, only the first of these should be called an 'empire,' as it consists of colonies dependent on the overwhelming power of Great Britain ; the second is the 'Imperial Federation' of the United Kingdom and the British Dominions ; and the third is something between the other two and tying together a group of *protected* communities."

"THE recently published report, of the Committee on Inter-Imperial Relations to the Imperial Conference establishes a Dominion Status on the principle of full and unlimited sovereignty. The Dominions thus 'emancipated' obtain the constitutional right to secede. No doubt this act of repealing constitutional bonds, which have become obsolete, will do much to strengthen the real unity of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The unity of that Commonwealth is based on the immutable homogeneity of British national culture, and moreover on the more recently acquired consciousness of the same. While, on the one hand, the grant of full national autonomy removes those causes of resentment which tended to disturb sometimes the cordial atmosphere of inter-imperial relations, it enables the Dominion Governments to acknowledge more liberally the immense advantages of the imperial connexion."

"MOREOVER, sovereign independence is not a question of legislation, but an ideal the realisation of which requires complete self-suffisance. The Dominions, however, depend largely on the military and economic strength of Great Britain."

"THE *protected* Empire consists mainly of India and Egypt. The latter, of course, does not literally belong to it, and might be a thoroughly independent state but for British military control. This state of affairs which is possible in Egypt could not be introduced in India. But then, India is no natural unit ; it is only British rule which has shaped its political form. British rule, therefore, is a necessity to India, deprived of which it would certainly break up."

"TURNING from the past to the future, the two prominent problems of British policy seem to be China and the European Continent. As to the former, Britain will certainly favour any serious effort to establish a stable central government which might be able to secure adequate conditions for industrial and commercial activity. The European Continent, on the other hand, might be steered into more quiet waters by the League of Nations which is not unlikely to become a most effective instrument of "Pax Britannica."

THE Editor regrets that in the article THE ETHICS OF BIRTH CONTROL by Professor Thomas D. Eliot, published in the SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW for last July, several quotations from various sources were attributed in error to Father John M. Cooper and were stated to be from his pamphlet called BIRTH CONTROL. These quotations appeared on pages 239, 240, 241 and 242 of the July number, and are appended below together with the correct source from which each was taken. The error was occasioned as a result of condensation of the article in question before publication, and was not caused by any ambiguity on the part of Professor Eliot. The Editor regrets any annoyance that may have been caused to Father Cooper or Professor Eliot, or to the authors of the quotations in question.

CORRECTIONS.

1. "To disregard instinctive repugnances in matters of sex-morality is exceedingly dangerous, and would lead logically to the toleration of acts which all decent persons condemn."

National Council of Public Morals (National Birth Rate Commission), THE DECLINING BIRTH RATE: ITS CAUSES AND EFFECTS (being the First Report of the National Birth Rate Commission), (Second Edition), Chapman and Hall, London, 1917.

2. "No supposed beneficial consequences can make good a practice which is, in itself, immoral." (See No. 4.)
3. "Husband and wife who indulge in any form of this practice . . . cannot help coming to regard each other to a great extent as mutual instruments of sensual gratification, rather than as co-operators with the Creator." (See No. 4.)
4. "To admit (that birth control) . . . is necessary to protect the women of America is something, I think, none of the women whose fathers were pioneers and whose mothers were the mothers of large families will for a moment admit."

JOINT HEARINGS before the Sub-committees of the Committees on the Judiciary, Congress of the United States, Sixty-eighth Congress, First Session, on H. R. 6542 and S. 2290 (Cummins-Vaile Bill). Miss A. G. Reagan's Testimony. Washington, 1924.

5. "The prevention of conception and the interference with it once it has begun are fundamentally the same. . . . The one is quite as immoral as the other . . . justifies . . . if they are permitted to violate such a fundamental law of nature, in violating any artificial or economic law which you . . . might pass."—Ibid.

Letter of Professor D. F. McCarthy, M.D., University of Pennsylvania. Washington, 1924.

6. "We regard these practices . . . quite as immoral as adultery . . . or rather a little more so, because adultery . . . does not commit any outrage upon nature, nor pervert nature's functions."—Ibid.

Rev. John A. Ryan's Testimony. Washington, 1924.

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7. "To defeat Nature in marriage is as criminal as to commit murder. No excuse is possible—neither financial reasons or any other."
Gibbons, James (Cardinal), *THE AMERICAN* (New York), February 23rd, 1903. Quoted in *THE AMERICAN IDEA*, by Lydia King Commander. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York City, 1907.
8. "The cardinal sin of wilful sterility in marriage means death."
Roosevelt, Theodore, "Race Decadence" (Review), *THE OUTLOOK*, Vol. 97, No. 14, April 8th, 1911.
9. "All meddling . . . to secure facultative sterility degrades the wife to the level of a prostitute."
Kelly, Howard, M.D., quoted by Hopkins, Mary Alden, "What Doctors Say of Birth Control," *HARPER'S WEEKLY*, Vol. 61, No. 3069, October 16th, 1915.
10. "What is the usual effect on the spiritual life of those who through continued control, keep their families down to next to nothing? This is probably the most serious single consequence of the current fashion."
Dublin, Louis I., *THE EXCESSES OF BIRTH CONTROL*, The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, New York City, 1925.
11. "Woman must free herself from bondage to man's sensual demands . . . if not for her own sake, nor for his, then for the sake of the coming race." (See No. 12.)
12. If those "eager to help the 'slum-mother' . . . would give but the . . . time . . . in teaching her that her body is her own, and at the same time instruct her husband in the hygiene and sanity of self-control, in a single generation there would be no 'slum-mother' to teach." "When . . . spiritual birth is accomplished, the problem of birth control will have solved itself."
Irwin, Mabel, "The True Birth Control," *THE ARBITRATOR*, Vol. I., No. 3, August, 1918.
13. "Woman's body and soul are made for maternity, and she can never find true repose for either without it."
Hall, G. Stanley, *ADOLESCENCE*, Appleton, New York City, 1904.
14. There are "many reasons" for birth control "and all of them . . . based on selfish motives."
Hunsberger, J. Newton, "Artificial Childlessness and Race Suicide," *JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION*, Vol. XLIX, No. 6, August 10th, 1907.
15. "A slavish subservience to the flesh."
Vaughan, Bernard, "England's Empty Cradles," *THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AND AFTER*, Vol. 80, No. 475, 1916.

ANNUAL REPORT OF LEPLAY HOUSE : Read by the Secretary at the Annual Reunion and Conference, October 29th, 1927.

INTRODUCTORY. In the report made at the last Conference, October, 1926, reference was made to the disorganisation in our work which was inevitable owing to Mrs. Branford's regrettable illness and death, which made development impossible and even made it difficult to carry on routine work. Activities had at the date of that Conference only just begun to revive, and it is pleasant to report that in the year that has since elapsed there has been a very great increase in all activities, many useful new contacts have been made, and in fact the report that I am now asked to read to you is perhaps the most interesting and encouraging that we have been able to put before you for some time.

PROPOSALS for general reorganisation, to simplify administration work which is increasing rapidly, are now before the Council and a joint Committee representing the Trustees, Leplay House and the Sociological Society has been appointed to deal with the matter. The problem is how to cope with the work which is open to the House with our very limited finance and personnel.

I SHOULD perhaps mention that the report which follows is on the work of Leplay House only, the report of the Sociological Society is given on another occasion.

PROPAGANDA. Under this heading may be noted a few of the efforts that have been made to make better known the work of Leplay House and the results of some, at least, of these efforts. Our correspondence is increasing a great deal, and the enquiries answered range from an application for a single leaflet to an enquiry from a Committee for the necessary details of an Intensive Survey of a town or county.

DURING the last eighteen months we have made between 600 and 700 new contacts by such correspondence and by personal interviews. Lectures on Regional Survey have been frequently given to associations and groups all over the country, and lecturers are also asked for—on subjects other than Regional Survey—for Girls' Clubs and similar institutions.

ONE very interesting addition to this propaganda work is an exhibition of materials, both old and new, which during the last year have been remounted on standard paper. There is nearly always an exhibition of materials on view in the Council Room at Leplay House, and the loan of exhibits is frequently asked for by other associations. Now that the material is all of one size, it is infinitely easier to comply immediately with such requests.

I MAY perhaps give one or two instances of work which has been assisted through correspondence and personal enquiry. The Geographical Class of a Training College was brought to Leplay House to attend a demonstration of diagrams and materials which have since served as useful models for their work. A lecture-demonstration given to a group of members of the Training School Staff of the Girl Guides has aroused great interest, and several of the London Districts are discussing the possibility of Surveys of their own areas; two schools in India have started Survey work in their towns and immediate neighbourhoods, the work being done by children aged 12 to 14.

FIELD STUDY MEETINGS. A field Study Meeting was held at Exeter, and a very interesting ten days was spent on Survey work in that city. The meeting was successful from all points of view, and we cannot

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thank too much the Principal of the University College who gave every assistance to the Meeting, placed rooms at disposal in the College, and permitted the use of Reed Hall as an Hostel. Professors of the University helped us by lecturing and in many other ways, and the great kindness with which Mr. Constable, the Warden of Reed Hall, met the requirements of the Meeting was much appreciated.

IN June there was an experimental one-day field reunion at Woldingham, and a party of 15 walked from Woldingham to Westerham and Oxted, with lunch on the Downs and tea at Westerham. The day was voted a very successful one, and we have been asked to arrange others like it next year.

A FIELD STUDY MEETING was also held at Warwick in September which proved very interesting and successful, and we owe a great deal of the success of the Meeting to the kindness with which the Mayor and Corporation of Warwick helped us in every way they could, and to the contacts we already had with residents in Warwick.

MORE than a year ago a suggestion was received from friends in Prague that some assistance should be given on behalf of Regional Surveys in Czecho-Slovakia, as interest in such surveys had been aroused by the visits organised by the Tours Association. Several different arrangements for a visit to Prague were accordingly discussed, but it was not until early this year that final steps were possible. A Deputation of five members from the House (Miss Cotterell, Miss Tatton, Mr. Farquharson, Mr. Lewis and myself) visited Prague, leaving London on the 13th March and returning on the 20th. The Deputation was received in Prague by a Committee representing the Committee for Cultural Relations between Britain and Czecho-Slovakia, and the Sociological Institute in Prague. An exhibition of Survey materials from Leplay House was arranged in a room provided by the Geographical Institute, and aroused great interest among the Geographers, Social Workers and Students, persons interested in Agriculture and Rural Life, and others who visited it. Lectures were given by Mr. Lewis and Mr. Farquharson at a meeting in the Geographical Institute, on Wednesday, 16th March, which was attended by about 150 people, including many University Professors, Lecturers, and Social Workers. A visit was paid by the Deputation to the Ukrainian University, Podebrady, where a most interesting display of the work of that University, much of it in Survey form, was seen.

It is impossible to speak too highly of the kindness shown by our friends in Prague during the whole period of the visit. It is also quite clear that much interest was aroused, particularly among the Geography Students and those interested in Agriculture, and it seems likely that steps will be taken to initiate a Survey or Surveys at an early date.

DEVELOPMENT SURVEYS. Towards the end of 1926 a proposal was received from the Southampton Council of Social Welfare that the House should undertake a Survey of Boys' Organisations in Southampton to facilitate some enquiries. Mr. Farquharson was able to undertake this work and the report compiled has now been submitted to the Southampton Council of Social Welfare who have expressed their appreciation of the assistance given.

At the request of the Guild of St. George a Survey of a small district round Bewdley, in Shropshire, was undertaken by Mr. Farquharson for the House. Time did not permit of a complete Survey of the Forest, but sufficient information was obtained to define the special social and economic

problems of the present position and to suggest possible improvements. The main facts collected in the course of the Survey have been communicated to the Guild of St. George, and a complete report is now in the course of preparation. The Master of the Guild has expressed his complete satisfaction with the results of the Survey.

FOLLOWING on the Field Study Meeting at Exeter at Easter of this year a Survey of the South-West has been undertaken in which the University College of the South-West are formally co-operating with Leplay House. The Survey is to continue during the next year or two, and the work of the Students is being added from time to time.

THERE is a most interesting demand for development Surveys, and definite enquiries have been received from towns where proposals for Surveys, of either one problem or of the town as a whole, are under discussion.

I SHOULD like to give you a few of the outstanding arrangements for 1928. First a meeting at the Conference of Educational Associations on January 2nd at 5 o'clock at University College, Gower Street, at which a paper on "Sociology in Education" written by Mr. Branford will be read. The Easter Vacation Meeting will be arranged for ten days—Easter and the week following. It is much hoped that the centre for the Meeting will be Chester.

ANOTHER Field Day Reunion has been asked for, and it has been suggested that Saffron Walden should be the place chosen this time. No date is fixed, but such a meeting, if agreed upon, would be held on a day early in June.

IT is hoped to arrange a second Field Study Meeting at Stratford-on-Avon for a fortnight at about June 24th.

THE usual Annual Conference and Dinner and Exhibition will be arranged very late in October or very early in November, 1928, and we hope to have then arrangements for the Exhibition to be held on a larger scale and for a longer time. The Exhibition is becoming one of the most interesting features of the Conference and we have this year arranged that the Exhibits are to be on view in rotation during November—and longer if necessary—at Leplay House in order to give members and friends a better opportunity of seeing the materials exhibited.

SUGGESTIONS have been made that one or two training weeks should be arranged during the year for eight or ten members wishing to study intensive Survey work. If there are any here who would care to join such a group, were it arranged, I shall be glad if they will write during the next month or two.

I MUST also add this very interesting information: we have been invited to assist with the Exhibition in connection with the International Conference of Social Workers to be held in Paris in June-July next.

I HAVE, I think, still a moment, Mr. Chairman, in which to express my very sincere personal thanks to the members of the Advisory Council of the House who have so often helped me, and particularly to Mrs. Holman and my Trustees, Mr. Gurney and Mr. Farquharson, without whose invaluable and unfailing help none of the activities upon which I have reported would have been undertaken, much less completed. Last, but not least, a word of acknowledgment to my loyal and steady fellow-worker—Miss Orland—whose work during an exceedingly busy year has been of the very greatest assistance.

BOOK REVIEWS.

LEONARDO THE FLORENTINE : A Study in Personality : by Rachel Annand Taylor. London. Richards Press Ltd., 1927. 30s.

SOME three years ago we had here in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW* (October, 1923, p. 335,) to welcome Mrs. Taylor's long-elaborated *ASPECTS OF THE ITALIAN RENAISSANCE*, and this as no ordinarily excellent volume such as patient and sympathetic travel and varied scholarship can and do from time to time give us, but as extraordinary, even unique ; since nothing short of the most glowing of all word-tapestries and lyrically-dramatic pageantings of Italy since Ruskin and Browning laid down their pens. Underlying all her rich embroidery, we found the web of historic research and critical reflection even closer knit than was Symonds' ; while her resulting work is as distinct from that of all these great interpreters as a fresh and no less vivid personality can be. Her studies have now been carried far further, and these both patiently and impassionedly, in her present book ; a large scale study of Leonardo du Vinci, by common consent one of the accomplished and enigmatically complex men of genius in history, and with correspondingly varied achievements and endeavours—a life-work to unravel and interpret, which, on its different sides, so many different critics, scholars and scientists have laboured ; and this for the past century and more with ever increasing intensity and zeal. Historians and biographers, psychologists, symbolists and mystics have each set before us their presentments of the man, as at least one considerable novelist as well ; so it may well seem to many readers that there can be little or no more to say. Yet here and now is a fresh presentment, profiting of course by most if not all of these preceding ones, yet substantially in various ways new, and in general effect and result unique ; yet surely nearest to the life and truth of them all ; in fact to the Personality, as her title justly claims. For this book has arisen not simply from careful study and comparison of all that remains of Leonardo's manifold masterpieces, his drawings too, and script, and of the many biographic and critical portraits of him also. The rise of his powers, the range of his achievements, are traced out afresh, and even the amazing fulness of life and powers inspiring all behind them. Even the paradoxes of his nature, the limitations and fears behind his failures, are divined anew, and with all the sympathy, yet also the acuteness, of woman's wit. So this most protean man of genius thus stands out here anew before us, brought back to life, so that we can follow him through all his phases and aspects, his doings and his failings, and these all revealed afresh by a poetic and scientific insight, and a creative power not a little akin to his own : and thus in many ways, compared with the past endeavours of other writers—meritorious and even interpretative as they often are—a veritable climax.

WERE this a literary journal, the reviewer would need and take no little space to outline the manifold riches of this in many ways great volume—even hailing it as a rare literary event—of which no citations could be copious enough to indicate its exuberant and overflowing wealth. Its vivid word-paintings, and its psychologic qualities too, are ever recalling her most vital poems ; indeed one may often regret that she has not here given parts of her story, description and criticism, in the verse which, as she indeed says, comes to her most naturally. Even keeping to our sociological limits, must we not agree with what the literary reviewer will surely see and say, that such a book could only come from one of the very rarest and richest

of minds, and itself Leonardan in its creative way. Leonardo is justly cited as naturally and incomparably preferring the exercise of his amazing graphic powers to those of descriptive language: yet here we cannot but see that his biographer has fully taken up his challenge, and thus produced the most vast and varied word-picture-book of Life, and as a prose poem; one which in its own complemental way is ever reaching to amazing heights of rivalry of imagination, presentment and realisation. So with the inner eye and its completeness of visualisation comparable to Leonardo's own, and with a complemental range and power of expression, we have indeed a biography fully worthy of its illustrious theme. For here Leonardo's lightest sketchings, his brightest jewellings, are matched in many a sentence; and his great works are shown to us, even restored for us from their loss or ruin; all in vivid word-pictures, small and great, from briefest paragraph to full wrought page, to chapter, and groups of these. Here then is our most Leonardan of authors, and all the more because—though with rare sympathy of interpretation—she is also independent, and too critically keen to be as simply Leonardist as have been most. In brief then, to set beside this brilliant and many-sided biography, we can recall no such comprehensive and sustained interpretative parallel. Views and conclusions of course may differ—but there can be no denying that here is a rare and marvellous instance of the interpretation of personality through personality, of genius by genius.

VIEWING the book more especially on its sociological merits we again cannot but rate it exceptionally high—indeed so much as to be of peculiar encouragement to those who hope for the fuller advent and influence of the social sciences. Every one knows that any and every good biography must necessarily have much of this social character, since always showing its subject in his place, at his work, and among his folk: and how he was thus first largely formed. If not essentially directed, even determined, by these (or sometimes by rebound from them), these factors have yet their significance; for however he may remould his life, redirect his doings, in short dominate his circumstances, earlier as well as new, we cannot but take note of these; albeit also seeking to do justice to all the inwardness of character inspiring aspiration and expression, act and deed. Yet while some such conception of biography is necessarily more or less implicit in all endeavours, and variously developed in the best, we have it here with a fulness of presentment which makes each of the five parts in itself the equivalent of a distinct and valuable volume. Thus Part I., "The City of Leonardo," and II., "The Court of Ludovico," are each an artist's presentment of what we nowadays call historic "Surveys"—of Florence and of Milan. For each is an amazingly concrete vision of the place, and this determining its folk, and of how these folk—say for them, and with them, their leaders—were each transforming their city from the mediæval to the Renaissance order, and with its disorders and tragic failures as well. Not only do the magnificent Lorenzo, the splendid Ludovico, thus return to life before us, but their chequered times: so Leonardo is shown on each of his great stages of action, and hence humanly intelligible, alike in achievements and in failures. So for III., "the Wandering Years"—(what a picture of Cesare Borgia!) and so on to King Francis, Leonardo's last host and patron, also here vividly portrayed. Such a biography, then, is also a history: each section richly descriptive, yet also interpretative; psychologic and ethic, romantic yet economic too, by turns, like life itself.

NOTABLE also as a severe condition of this creative and interpretative treatment, is the way in which the usual details of Leonardo's family and early

life, and the dated summary of his later years, are relegated from the text to "Appendix A and B," along with a selected Bibliography and chosen Dates of Contemporary Events. The new reader may find this method a little extreme: but all the same he may learn the more from this more definitely artistic mode of presentment, even as to a great play we may best go without the scholarly edition in our hand, though consulting that later.

IN thus welcoming Mrs. Taylor in her latest rôle, as historian-biographer, and critic, as always psychologist, and seeing in her book a notable event, and this not only for Leonardian studies or for those of Italy and its Renaissance as well, but of contemporary letters, we cannot but ask yet more of social interpretation from her; and so far we find it. Thus in her brilliant resuscitations of the Renaissance past, she is not blind to its mechanistic, mammonistic, machiavellian and militant elements, which have so developed into our dulled and yet more dangerous and dreadful times, for she recognises even the admired Leonardo as of such evils not a little a pioneer. She is thus evidencing herself as one of those few who can as yet help with the criticism and understanding of our present. And as she appreciates the varied quests and tasks, the manifold searchings and previsions of this amazing worker and dreamer, is not she thus also nearing a period of prevision of a better future anew?—and this greater than the Renaissance—a veritable Revivance! She may hesitate to admit this, or not yet fully see it in her field—yet her interpretations of Leonardo show him active in such highest pioneering also, and even on many of its needed sides. Thus she sees his thought as far from merely mathematical or mechanistic, and with this latter in its most dynamic aspect; and appreciates his anatomy, as for flight, for physiology, for embryology, and so on. She shares his indifference to the political struggles around him, so largely evil, expressing his serene detachment; and despite his occupation at times with war and its inventions, she recalls his constructive contributions, as of his many irrigation canals and his city plans, towards rural prosperity and civic progress. She realises too his complete emancipation from the pedantic education which was already beginning, and which still so dominates our schools at all levels; and often she appreciates, if hardly as fully as it deserves, the true school, the real education, which he went on giving throughout his active life to his many pupils. In short then, in all these ways and more, Leonardo and his biographer are alike pioneering for us moderns, and with us in social studies and endeavours albeit more than he fully knew, or even she as yet expresses. In saying this there is no reproach—but continued appreciation—with hopeful anticipation of further admirable works to come. Thus may she not next do something more to disclose with fuller psychology, what is ever the great marvel and mystery of Leonardo—and this for our age, especially since for the most part so lacking in synthetic vision, and hence with its manifold specialisms, of sciences and arts, as yet too much dis-specialisms accordingly. For with the reviving movement towards synthesis which is anew dawning, Leonardo will more and more fully come into his own; and this even as a true and rich inspirer of that opening Revivance, to which our author, with all her genius of creative retrospect, also so much belongs. For her rare powers of seeing a great past age and its supreme personality in their interaction and evolution are indeed no less applicable to interpretation of the present—and even towards fuller and finer previsions towards the manifold future than any of our Utopian (Outopian or Eutopian) writers have yet reached.

P. G.

HEALTH PROBLEMS IN ORGANISED SOCIETY : by Sir Arthur Newsholme, K.C.B., M.D.

SIR GEORGE NEWMAN, Chief Medical Officer to the Ministry of Health, has expressed his opinion that improvement in the country's health by community action in obtaining healthy surroundings by good drainage, the supply of pure water and such like measures has well-nigh reached its limit, and that the task must in future be taken up by the individual. Every citizen must learn the laws of healthy living, and by attention to personal and domestic hygiene must raise the health standard of the whole community, composed as it is of individuals. Education of the public in matters of health is the method Sir George Newman recommends, and towards this end Sir Arthur Newsholme's book should prove most useful. Its main object apparently is to instil into the minds of all of us that a great deal of the suffering to which man is liable, and most premature deaths, are the results of man's own sins and follies, sins of omission, and sins of commission : that if we mend our ways and learn a few simple facts as to the causes and transmission of disease, we can at once, if we so will it, reduce the large death rate from tuberculosis ; we can stamp out venereal diseases ; and we can escape from the penalties directly or indirectly due to excess of alcohol. Character building and education, in its broader sense of learning how the individual must live rightly in relation to the community, are again and again insisted on as the greatest preventive measures against the diseases with which he chiefly deals, namely alcoholism, tuberculosis and venereal diseases, which account for a large percentage of premature deaths. Besides character building the author stresses the importance of a further development of the social conscience, so that a causal attack on social evils may be launched in place of the present empirical treatment of its symptoms. The causes of tuberculosis are known ; sure methods of prevention are known : what can be said of a social conscience which allows it to claim in death some 40,000 sufferers every year ?

ANOTHER point on which Sir Arthur Newsholme insists is that general medical practitioners must be more than family doctors. "Every physician within the scope of his own medical practice should become a medical officer of health." If a doctor is consulted by a man with tuberculosis he must not only prescribe treatment, but he must learn all about the man's home surroundings or workshop conditions and guard against infection of others, and he must systematically examine the man's wife and children so as to detect any early symptoms of the disease and deal with them forthwith. The author recognises that the present method of doctors being paid fees for each consultation is an obstacle in the way of this being carried out. He does not, however, mention that preventive medicine is further and more seriously hindered by this method in that the doctor has to wait till a patient is ill and chooses to send for him, which partly from ignorance and partly to save expense he often postpones till too late to effect a cure, or too late to prevent the spread of infection. Some system is required by which a doctor can go out to seek disease in its early stages instead of having to wait for disease to come to him.

ON the whole the book is an inspiration of hope. The author points out how the outlook on the causation and cure of disease has passed from the realm of superstition and witchcraft and has been founded on the sure basis of science, with the result that there has been a steady and progressive improvement in the health of the nation, especially so during the last fifty years. Many diseases in these islands, typhus, plague and cholera for

example, have been stamped out, and others, such as typhoid, well-nigh conquered. With the building up of character and the growth of the social conscience greater conquests still may be expected. But if the statistics of disease and ill-health be studied it will be seen how great and how pressing is the need to push forward.

SPACE does not permit of any detailed notice of the various chapters, but those dealing with Education in Preventive Medicine, with Liberty and Compulsion in Communal Life, with Sexual Hygiene and Morality, with the Control of Alcohol, and with Population and Birth Control, cannot fail to arouse the greatest interest and cause the reader to think such questions out afresh.

IN the cause of Preventive Medicine and Public Health it is to be hoped that Sir Arthur Newsholme's clearly written and well argued book will have a wide circulation.

C. A. P.

SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA : by N. S. Phadke, M.A., Professor of Mental and Moral Philosophy, Kolhapur, with a foreword by Margaret Sanger. Taraporevala. Bombay. 1927.

IT is too easy to poke fun at the earnest effort of a well meaning young man. But why should Prof. Phadke have written in English a popular propaganda book exclusively addressed to Indians? As it is, this work would be rather heavy, were it not for its most picturesque language and the numerous misprints which pleasantly relieve the weight of it.

BUT again, why should the book be called **SEX PROBLEM IN INDIA**? What is the Sex Problem anyhow? The book deals only with eugenics and mostly with Birth Control. And let us pay this tribute to the author that he is an earnest and high principled apostle; there is no levity or morbidity about him.

SAYS Prof. Phadke: "Our people are suffering from a miserable degeneration; our race is to-day void of all stamina, mental as well as physical; disease is undermining the health of our men and women; the average span of expected life in our country is as low as 24 years; our country's death rate is shockingly huge compared with that of any other nation—all these facts are so potent that he who runs may see them." Did Miss Mayo say as much? Prof. Phadke examines the reasons of this painful state of affairs. He finds them in the miserable condition and status of women, in the present form of marriage, in child marriage, in the universal ignorance about sex matters. Marriage in its present form he condemns as priest-ridden, determined by astrology and considerations of dowry. He is not particularly convincing to a Western reader in his attempts to reconcile the teachings of the Rishis and Shastras with what he calls "late and love marriage," but finally scores with quotations from an ancient Aryan medical treatise. This, however, is forbidden ground to us. It is only to be hoped that he will fare well with the National Fundamentalists.

WELL aware that continence is not a practical solution for the limitation of children to the resources of the parents when fit, still less for their absence when the married people are unfit, he finds in Birth Control and Eugenics the only salvation and proceeds to give his readers a course on what he calls The Theory of Heredity and on Female Anatomy and means of Birth Control.

THERE is nothing new for us in this or in the whole book. But then, it is obvious that a work of popular propaganda for Indians should not be judged by our western standards. The author presumably knows Indian values better and what will appeal to his people. The only puzzle is why written in English. The point, as far as we are concerned, is the sidelights the book throws on Indian conditions.

A MOVEMENT OF PROMISE.

THE CONFESSION OF THE KIBBO KIFT: A Declaration and General Exposition of the Work of the Kindred: by John Hargrave. London. Duckworth. 1927. 7s. 6d.

It is now about a generation since Boy Scouts in England and Seton Indians in the United States began their movements; and already they have grown and spread, they say to about two millions, so well nigh as fast as the Salvation Army itself. They make inner progress also; thus General Baden Powell, now gentler with age, is all for repressing the militant spirit surviving among his scout-masters, and lays more and more stress on peaceful training. Of recent years the fine spirit of Ernest Westlake initiated his fresh group of Woodcraft Chivalry, with even more developed camping, and occupational training purpose: while last in time, and so as yet least in numbers, we have now "Kibbo Kift the Woodcraft Kindred." In not a few ways this is most ambitious of all; hence its seven years of life so far have been experimental rather than propagandist. Yet for this very reason, it is interesting to learn, as lately first-hand from the leaders of the German Youth Movement, now so important, as of some two millions also, that they have found its ideas and ideals the most helpful and suggestive of all.

WHAT then are these ideas, ideals, and purposes? Is it not time for us old sociologists to be knowing more than we commonly do of what such elites of the younger generation are thinking and aiming at?

IN all such organisations, the founder and leader is peculiarly important, since it is his distinctive character and activities which inspire the group, his view-points which dominate its ideas, his aspirations and purposes which direct its policy and weld it for united action. Among all these different leaders, and beyond the outdoor life and woodcraft they all share, Mr. Hargrave (better known as "White Fox") is certainly the most imaginative, and in various fields; since artist and decorator, cartoonist and caricaturist on the visual side, speaker and novelist on the auditive; and interested too in archaeology and history as well as in woodcraft and its educative developments. Yet here is no vague dispersiveness, but many-sided ability applied to a single purpose, that of building up an organisation far beyond all simple boy-scouting, or even the ordinary anticipations from it. What then is this? Nothing short of a new social grouping, and of so many sides that we cannot classify it under any one label, recreative or educational, ethical or religious, economic or political, and so on, since something of each and all. Hence, too, it requires time to develop its manifold beginnings, as yet open to every misunderstanding, and needs sympathy to be understood at all. Even this volume, as its first fairly full exposition, sometimes risks the first of these, and needs the second.

FOR the sociologist, however, here is a constructive Eutopia he cannot ignore; and the more since its thought is already in action—in that of some good few hundred of "Kindred" as embryo grouping; thus already more than many studious societies and practical associations longer in growth and better known. To cite our author they—

"BEGAN as a body impulse, to get Earth contact in a mechanical age. . . . They wanted more health and they got it." Hence they "went forward, began to question, and make experiments." They "questioned the Educational system, and came to certain quite definite conclusions and decisions . . . did the same with Economics, and finally cleared the path through the Religious jungle. Now comes the question are these tentative experiments . . . of any real value? I believe they are—and that there are many thousands of people on these islands, and elsewhere, who will not only stop to listen, but who will respond to the Call." . . . The work of the Kindred falls into two chief departments as follows:—

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1. To act as an educational "incubator" for the full development of the individual personality of the child in close contact with the healing and health-giving forces of Nature by :
 - (a) Camping and Naturecraft, re-acting the primitive struggle for Food, Warmth, and Shelter as a corrective to the enervating conditions of indoor and town life, and as a necessary training by first-hand experience in the fundamentals upon which all civilisation is based.
 - (b) Useful Handicraft, as part of the natural impulse to express personality, thereby realising disciplined individuality and restoring the significance of craftsmanship in a mechanical age.
 - (c) Active exercises in self-reliance, hardihood, and psycho-physical control, and the ability to "lend a hand" as a corrective to crowd helplessness and the tendency to "look on."
 - (d) The vision of Mankind and the world as an essential unity in which regional patriotism can find its true perspective.
2. To act as an "instrument" for social regeneration, having focus, common custom, and obligation as the necessary qualities of integration in a period of disintegration ; to influence existing social institutions at the point of direction in order to :
 - (a) Prepare the hearts and minds of the people for the reorganisation of social economics on the basis of the Just Price.
 - (b) Liberate the deep-seated urge of the people for active service in the world, and
 - (c) Restore spiritual values to a material age.

ALAS, our space-limit opposes further outline of how these great tasks are handled, and of the problems that they raise. But discussion of these critical but also constructive ideas is boldly and simply stated, ably treated and shrewdly argued too ; and all as a scheme of social life, and one increasingly inviting the co-operation of both sexes and all ages. Starting with open-air fundamentals of health, "as the new savagery," and from the freshening spirit of such bright comradeship it seeks to evolve a better social and richer cultural life. So again this brings us to the conclusion that a human institution, a New Pythagorean School—is essential if we are to develop from the chaos of a period of disillusioned self-assertion into a period of harmonically conscious self-realisation.

AGAIN he dips into many sources to make his meaning clear, as from Lao Tze, or St. Paul, St. Ignatius or Bernard Shaw, and cites from Robert Burton's famous ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY :—

"We had need of some general visitor in our age that should reform what is amiss—a just army of Rosie-cross men ; for they will amend all matters (they say), religion, policy, manners, with arts, sciences, &c."

THE modern economic situation is actively and suggestively considered—concretely in terms of Food, Warmth and Shelter—yet thence particularly on the financial side, with vigorous "emphasis upon the equation of consumption to production by proper recognition of the Just Price," and by "reorganising the credit power in the interests of the community as a whole," from which again many corollaries, as for politics, internal and international, and thus for peace. There is also an unusually clear facing of the possibilities of national disaster before us, yet with hope, as natural and proper to a constructive group "who are developing a technique of life, or basis for thought and action which has focus, common custom and obligation"—and which "hopes to play a great and important part at a time when the landmarks of an older generation are being swept away." The last section of the volume is thus a glowing dithyramb of "The Spirit" ; which will perplex the sceptical, but invigorate the faithful, and attract recruits. In many ways then, here is a volume which should stir many, of our youth especially, towards action and thought—and even some of us elders to reflection ; indeed why not to such co-operation in ideas and applications as we may ?

P. G.

THE HUMAN HIVE : ITS LIFE AND LAW : by A. H. Mackmurdo.
Watts & Co. 325 pp. (7s. 6d.)

A **RELATIONSHIP**, not at all rigid, with Comte's conceptions, is fairly obvious in Mr. Mackmurdo's earnest and methodical study. His prime maxim is : "Law for Principle, Order for Basis, Beauty (not 'Progress') for End." The separation, yet mutual sympathy, of Church and State is Positivist. So is the eager insistence of the Family as the foundation of society. Among the author's numerous sociological diagrams, with eloquent circles, triangles and arrows, the one on which he seems to set chief value represents industrial guilds, or partnerships, worked by Operative Hands, Administrative Heads, and Supervising Hearts. The scheme, of course, recalls Comte's Proletariat, happily combined with a Patriciate, and controlled by the spiritual influences of Women and Priests. In symbolising this genial corporation, however, Mr. Mackmurdo prefers the very simple term "Human Hive" to the more pretentious term "Social Organism." Solidarity, expressing itself in present-day life and law, is his principal interest, and his allusions to past epochs cover little more than passing notes on the ages of Fetishism and Theology. But his view of ethical religion gives due place to the idea of Continuity in the following characteristic passage :—

"To enable the Race to reap the full harvest of the social process working in the field of human development, Religion steps in as the most effective instrument yet invented by man. She has presented man with a better way of life than his immature reason could formulate. Her beneficent foresight covers a term longer than man's short span. She links the loftiest aspirations of the race with the vivid dreams of its childhood ; she links the welfare of the unborn with the welfare of the living, and becomes in her highest office the guardian of this future welfare . . . The institution of Religion, with her doctrines, ceremonial, sacraments and worship, has been a growth from the beginning of human life. In its crudest and earliest forms, as we may still see it, it should receive our respect, though mixed with much that is repulsive to natures cultivated by a nobler religion. From the dawn of religion in totem worship and magic, spiritual craftsmen have been perfecting her as an instrument of human development."

By way of marginal touch with the Infinite, Mr. Mackmurdo affirms : "The creative spirit of the universe is all-pervading ; it is external to man, and yet it is the breath of his nostrils,"—a remark that is half Comte and half Swinburne. The quotations just given will indicate the humanist temper in which the author deals with a miscellany of topics, such as Education, Conduct, Responsibility, Rest, Recreation, Thrift, Crime, &c. Some of our United States friends will gasp at the cool observation : "The result of education can never be tested and must remain unknown till after the taught are dead." Mr. Mackmurdo will hardly be a welcome visitor to those American "character-training" institutes where girls and boys briskly fill up long questionnaires on the state of their little souls.

WITH almost apostolic fervour, the author unfolds his scheme of credit, currency and the "just price," though his proposals—apparently formulated in the period 1914-16—travel as far as National guilds and Mr. Kitson's demand for complete control of money-issue by the Government, but not as far as Major Douglas's theory of Unemployment ("a disease in the distribution of work," says Mr. Mackmurdo in un-Douglasite phrase) and universal regulation of prices by public authority. The direction which Mr. Mackmurdo takes, however, is pointedly along the Social Credit line. His standard of value is that of vital food-stuffs. The national money-issue is to maintain a strict relation, whether in rise or fall, to the stock and quality of the country's food : and imports of food are to be so dutiable as not to disturb the home prices. Mr. Mackmurdo is so religiously anxious to order a stable and moral economics that he deprecates the "unscholarly use of

such words as Employer, Wage, Capital, Ownership, &c., which only darken discussion and bring bitterness." They do; as the world goes to-day, the battle-spirit is inevitable in Labour circles. But the battle will be shortened by the sympathetic efforts of such systematic thinkers as Mr. Mackmurdo.

F. J. GOULD.

THE PLAN OF THE EDUCATIONAL COLONIES' ASSOCIATIONS
(of Great Britain and India): by J. W. Petavel. The Educational
Colonies' Associations, London and Calcutta. (1s. 6d.)

"GREAT BRITAIN'S circumstances demand with the utmost urgency, that instead of paying her unemployed an inadequate wage to do nothing, she should employ them, in organisations like the Swiss one, producing food-stuffs for themselves, and being trained in the work." (p. 59.)

"THE wage without work is, in the first place, insufficient, secondly it is demoralising, thirdly a man, in any case, wants not only bread but prospects; to provide means of sustenance, we might say, may suffice for an animal, but not for a man." (p. 58.)

INDIA also has her vaster problem of poverty, including unemployment and poverty among the middle classes. Captain Petavel and the Educational Colonies' Associations propose to begin with the children.

"WE cannot go on (he says, p. 239), refusing to do for our children, to save them from unemployment and blind-alley occupations, what the Swiss have done for their tramps and vagrants; and by the very kind of organisation we need for the children we can open prospects to all, and keep the gates of opportunity always open; we could soon enable all the workers to live healthy lives under good conditions, and their children to grow up healthy and strong."

LET us begin, then, with educational colonies for children. In the case of town children, they could be conveyed to and fro, in the opposite directions, in the same trains—or buses and trams—as the workmen. Or, apart from towns, a colony might serve the district round.

WHAT would happen? In the first place the children could have a better and healthier education, which might be partly self-supporting, becoming more so as it went on. That would be much. But Captain Petavel looks for more. Incidentally we should be training potential colonists, who would have learned to do things with their hands, cultivating a certain independence, while learning co-operation. He feels sure that, once having demonstrated their practicability, these colonies would spread. They would, of course, not consist only of children. He looks for a sprinkling of parents, teachers, professional men and tradesmen and thinks it probable that colonies of adults would follow, with increasing methods of co-operation. In such ways, he argues, the unemployment problem could be solved; and, ultimately, a new organisation of trade and industry, with balance between co-operative (or socialistic) and private enterprise, each playing the part which suits it best.

SUCH, put very briefly, is the prospect presented by this book. It might be described as progress (or revolution, what matter the name?) with the minimum of friction.

NEWS of progress towards the founding of Educational Colonies in India (at least one is decided on, ground being already selected), is given in a monthly organ, *Bread and Freedom*, edited by Captain Petavel (address Shambazar, Calcutta. Price in India, Re. 1; elsewhere, 2s.) A. St. J.

HANDBOOK OF RURAL SOCIAL RESOURCES : by Henry Israel and Benson Y. Landis. University of Chicago Press. 1926. (10s. net.)

THIS book aims at giving all interested in rural social development in the United States a minimum of information about the main problems involved and the agencies at work upon them. It consists of two parts. The first contains fourteen chapters, which deal with particular aspects of rural social life and its problems. The second part contains the "programmes" (i.e., the particulars) of national agencies engaged in rural social work in the U.S.A.

PART I. includes chapters upon rural population, rural standards of living, art, education, recreation and social work (i.e., relief work), in rural districts, the churches, women's organisations, legislation, co-operative marketing, credit, taxation, production, prices and income. There is also a chapter summarising recent European policies on agriculture and rural life.

THESE chapters would require examination by specialists if a thoroughly reliable estimate of their merits were to be made. In the light of a quite general knowledge of American rural life, they appear to be on the whole good and informative summaries of their subjects. One striking omission appears : There is no chapter on Farmers' Organisations.

It is clear, from the information given, that many of the problems of rural life in the United States are the same as those we are facing in this country. The scale, however, is plainly much larger. Similarly there are many points of resemblance in movements to revitalise rural life in the United States and here.

PART II. is, of course, an extremely useful reference manual for those engaged in practical social work, and will be of value to many people in this country, as well as to the apparently very large body of rural social workers in the United States.

A. F.

CHICAGO CIVIC AGENCIES : A Directory of Associations interested in Civic Welfare. University of Chicago Press. 1927. (8vo., 12s. 6d. net.)

THIS is a good example of a first census or survey of organised civic effort, similar in type to those which have been published for several cities in this country. The book is planned for easy and constant reference : it has an interesting introduction summarising the organisation and work of the agencies included ; it gives useful particulars of the methods used in compiling it, and has three maps. The Local Community Research Committee of Chicago University is in part responsible for its production—a sufficient guarantee of accurate and thorough work. One doubt arises—Is it wise to exclude "social service" agencies, i.e., relief agencies—from the scope of such a book? And can you do so if you try? Some of the agencies cited seem to be doing work that is very closely related to relief work.

GUIDE TO CURRENT OFFICIAL STATISTICS, 1926. H.M. Stationery Office. 1927. (1s. net.)

PREVIOUS volumes of this admirable *Guide* have been noticed from time to time in the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*. The present volume shows no striking changes, but maintains the useful, practical tradition of the series. Social students will find it useful to look through it, apart from using it as a reference book, in order to get a good primary view of official statistical activity.

HUMAN NATURE IN BUSINESS: by F. Creedy, M.I.E.E., with a Foreword by J. A. Hobson. Benn. 1927. (12s. 6d. net.)

THIS book about the economics of to-day illustrates a point that has often been made by sociologists in France and in this country: i.e., that there are in some respects close similarities between the ideas of the common-sense man and those of the trained sociologist. Mr. Creedy, though he acknowledges help given him by members of the Sociological Society, has arrived at his results mainly by independent study. He has, however, another important resource at his disposal, in that he is an engineer with the special outlook that technical training and achievement can give, and with the inside knowledge of business that a working engineer is almost certain to acquire. Thus equipped he gives a sketch of present-day economy agreeing in spirit and outlook with that which a sociologist might construct; and he makes a criticism of that economy which would appeal in many respects to a sociologist. Only when his remedies for our present discontents come under review would a sociologist hesitate to accompany him all the way, and be likely to suggest something simpler and at the same time more radical.

THE central point in Mr. Creedy's account of things as they are is his clear perception that the present economic system, whatever its defects, is a working system: that its complexity is due, in part at least, to a long, difficult, and carefully contrived adjustment to actual conditions; and that therefore it is idle to expect that it can be replaced at a blow by any other system, however simple and attractive that may appear to inexperienced minds. The account given of this working system will be criticised in detail by readers of the book, each from his own point of view; its value lies in its courageous attempt to give an all-round view of the situation on a common-sense basis; and in this respect the very defects which might be noted by the specialist in economics or education are part of its merit. One general—though very moderate—criticism might be made, either by a dramatist or a sociologist; the individual and social motives which keep the system going work out in much more complex ways than seems to be suggested; and this complexity, involving both the private and public life of every man engaged in business, is essential to the situation and makes a great part of its difficulty. To take one matter only—For how much does the influence of women upon men count in developing and intensifying the business struggle? and in how many diverse ways does it make itself felt? Mr. Arnold Bennett, in *MILESTONES* and *LORD RAINGO*, has made suggestions worth considering in this connection: a comparison of these imaginative works with Mr. Creedy's book will at once give point to the comment just made.

THE criticism of the present economic scheme takes as its leading theme the general acceptance of private gain as the prime object of business and industry; much attention is also given to two of the results which flow from this—secrecy in bargaining, and narrow specialisation on one particular line in business; and the effect of these again in throwing the economic machine out of gear is brought clearly into view. The treatment may be contrasted with that of Mr. Bertrand Russell in *ICARUS*. Mr. Creedy shares nothing of Mr. Russell's cynical view that business men *must* compete for gain in order to satisfy unchanging instincts, even if loss or destruction to themselves and the community is the final result; his is a more gentle and helpful outlook, assuming all through that wrong can be put right—that sanity can triumph in the long run. On the other hand he seems to see less clearly than might be the truth behind Mr. Russell's view—that (from one point of view) the economic system works just because it provides ways of expressing and intensifying instincts that we all possess; and it is not obvious

that he grasps completely the bearing of this on any scheme of reform. Further (though this is perhaps hardly a fair comment on an economic study) the relation of specialisation in industry and business to specialisation in academic life and to social distinctions might have had some attention; for a radical defect in the common life must show itself throughout, and can best be understood when studied over the whole field.

As a remedy for the evils which he has exposed Mr. Creedy suggests both apparatus and organisation. His plea for making available facts and more facts in the economic field should secure wide support: and the need of institutions, local and national, to collate such facts into a great "Economic Survey" is beyond argument. Nor will there be any objection in most minds to experiments in organisation on Mr. Creedy's lines: Economic Councils to develop a general policy for industry, Commissions to deal with unemployment, and so on. Yet it is perhaps when estimating the value of these that the sociologist must try to express what is only implied in the author's treatment. For the radical defect of our economic and social life to-day is the lack of an ideal of life, common to all our people, and *vital* in the sense that has a continuous and universal power of inspiration. And the first step—literally—to economic reform is to recognise this, and to understand the conditions under which alone such an ideal can become a common possession. This is not primarily a matter of Councils or Commissions; it is a quite different thing from compulsory repression of business dishonesty, or modification of trade union restrictions; it is much more like planting "grains of mustard seed" or growing oaks from acorns. It must rest in future, as in the past, upon the setting up and recognition of a general spiritual authority which will act by persuasion, not by compulsion. It is impossible to do more here than suggest this theme, which has been frequently set forth in the pages of the REVIEW: but it would be unfair to Mr. Creedy and to his honest, painstaking exposition, if no mention were made of its bearing upon his plans for the future.

A. F.

AMERICAN MASTERS OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: edited by H. W. Odum. Holt & Co., New York, 1927. (\$4.50.)

THIS "approach to the study of the social sciences through the neglected field of biography" consists of an introductory chapter and nine short biographical studies of living, or recently dead, students of the social sciences in the United States, each study being by a different author. The students dealt with are J. W. Burgess, L. F. Ward, H. B. Adams, W. A. Dunning, A. W. Small, F. H. Giddings, T. Veblen, F. J. Turner and J. H. Robinson; and among the authors are J. Q. Dealey, C. E. Merriam, E. C. Hayes, and H. E. Barnes, scholars whose names are already well known in Europe. From such hands a volume of some interest and authority was certain; readers outside the U.S.A. will find here much information—probably fresh to many of them—on the recent development of the social sciences there, and interesting light upon the experience and careers of some of the leaders in that development. Two outstanding points will probably strike students in this country. The book, though it deals with men of academic type, aims at making a popular appeal; there is no suggestion of that glance towards a select coterie of scholars and students which a similar book produced here might have. Again, while attempting this popular appeal, it implies—perhaps not too clearly—that the development of the social sciences has some kind of unity—proceeds as a whole, and not separately for each science. For this, and for its useful details of the published work of the men dealt with, the book will be found valuable to students here.

A. F.

PLANNING FOR CITY TRAFFIC: "THE ANNALS" FOR SEPTEMBER, 1927. (American Academy for Political and Social Science. 2 dols.)

THIS book possesses a double interest for a British sociologist. Not only does it contain much valuable information upon traffic matters in general, but in addition it is not difficult to observe differences in national attitudes and needs between the citizen of the United States and the subject of the King. Anyone seeking practical guidance in Town Planning or traffic control would need to walk warily in applying many of the arguments and conclusions of this book to European conditions, but there remains a great deal of its contents which could be applied almost directly to our own home problems.

THE importance of regional planning and surveying is well brought out, and some extremely interesting examples of actual surveys are given, which lead to an excellent discourse on the theory of street planning from the point of view of traffic and the size and purpose of buildings. A theoretical discussion of New York and the territory affected, from the traffic point of view, around the city, gives a good example of the task awaiting the city planners of the future; as a circular area of forty miles radius has been dealt with in detail with some extensions to sixty miles in places. When it is remembered that London, from the residential and traffic point of view includes Guildford, Slough, Welwyn, and Southend, as well as Brighton and Eastbourne, the scope adopted by the American planners does not seem to be excessive. From the financial point of view the larger the area which can be reasonably included the better, since the cost of the works required can be partly recovered from the owners of property within the area, on the principle of the unearned increment.

TRAFFIC congestion naturally receives a great deal of attention, notably the effect of "parking facilities." Some difference of opinion seems to exist here between the various contributors, some of whom seem to think that parking should be curtailed as it is more nuisance than it is worth, while others appear to take the view that the advantage to business of good parking facilities is sufficiently great to justify considerable expenditure. Reading these contributions tends to arouse that feeling, not uncommon in the study of American treatises, that the authors' views are not uninfluenced by their own business interests, or in other words, that there is a bit of axe-grinding going on. Propaganda of this sort is, of course, a legitimate piece of modern business on both sides of the Atlantic, but our own learned societies are particularly careful to keep their own publications free from anything of the sort, and it is a pity that THE ANNALS does not do the same. For this reason one hesitates to draw too much attention to an extremely interesting point of comparison between America and England, namely that while in this country authorities are almost unanimous in condemning the tramcar, the American seems to regard it as being the ultimate solution of the traffic problem, and considerable space is devoted to arrangements for using the private car as a feeder to the street car and the local rail service, the car being left on the outskirts of the city and the journey completed by tram or tube. These discussions bring out some interesting facts about general psychology, such as the time which the average American will spend in getting to his office, and how far from his direct route he will deviate to garage his car instead of parking it. It seems that he is more exacting in these respects than the Londoner, while he will put up with overcrowded public vehicles to an extent which no English community would stand even if the police would allow them to do so.

ONE of the most interesting portions of the book is the series of essays upon traffic control. The automatic policeman in the form of a post carrying coloured lights working on a definite cycle has not been used in this country so far, though it will probably be seen before long, for economical reasons. On the whole the method seems to be a success in America although there are plenty of points where it would be useless. The proper selection of the cycle for each point and the use of survey results in determining cycles are very well discussed in what is probably the most interesting and useful part of the book. A mistake which the Americans have made and which this country can avoid is made quite clear. The indication colours and the movements which are allowed on each have not been standardised throughout the States, and a good deal of confusion results when drivers and pedestrians from one city have to use the streets of another. The beginnings of the automatic constable are already to be seen on the new arterial and by-pass roads in this country; and the more we can learn from American experience the better.

THERE are one or two more technical articles of interest dealing with the design of street intersections to prevent accident, the lighting of highways, and the design of the new tunnel under the Hudson River, though some of these bear an undue atmosphere of axe-grinding.

A. D. McK.

PHYSICAL THEORIES IN SOCIAL APPLICATIONS.

RELATIVITY IN MAN AND SOCIETY: by Arthur F. Bentley. New York and London. Putman. 1926.

ARCHIMEDES: OR THE FUTURE OF PHYSICS: by L. L. Whyte. London. Kegan Paul. 1927. 2s. 6d.

MR. BENTLEY's book deserves courageous attention despite its difficulty, and because of its boldness in applying a great mathematico-physical doctrine to the study of man and society; and this the more since physicists and sociologists have as yet so rarely met before on any grounds of common understanding, so that even Einstein himself might well hesitate to review this book from his side, as may we or many students of society also from ours. Yet it is for both sides to consider our author's essential thesis—that beyond the significance of the doctrine of relativity for the understanding of the physical universe,

"THERE is still another value for the term, which is already beginning to unfold itself in what we are to know about ourselves in society. From the remodelling of the common language, as affected by the technical reconstruction of a few special terms in it, is beginning to arise a reconstruction of all technical knowledge of society and of man operating in society. Not through the mastery of a powerful calculus, but with qualitative rearrangement of our knowledge much less certain and reliable, but the best we yet have, will this work proceed."

How Mr. Bentley develops this general conception into his view of man and his analysis of society is the question which should be here summarised, and so far as may be in the author's very words, before any estimate of his doctrines, much less criticism of them. But alas, despite some study and not without appreciation, the present reviewer's limitations permit him only to recommend the book in a general way, i.e., not only as at the very least a brain-stretching exercise, but as initiating a mode of study which may usefully complement our present lines of social thought, and even aid that further

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clarification, of which we may well grant they stand in need, and towards which they may certainly profit by the help of mathematico-physical science.

Mr. WHYTE's attractive little volume is admirably argued and brightly written, in fact fully up to the highest level of the distinguished TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW series, to which it is one of the latest additions. It gives promise, indeed substantial earnest, of valuable contribution to one of the largest of current problems, and indeed one of the most essential of imaginable ones. No less than the needed fuller clearing up of the essential concepts and outlooks of physical science in the first place; and thence of their bearings on our whole understanding of life and mind. Fundamental not only to Einstein's relativity doctrine, but to all our scientific conceptions of the processes of nature, is the question which Mr. Whyte vividly terms "A modern duel—Einstein and Eddington versus Bergson and Whitehead." That controversy is essentially as to whether, with the former, we are to continue and develop the view to which physicists have preponderantly inclined so far—that of (1) processes as reversible, and whose laws thus can be expressed independently of the age of the system, e.g., gravitational and mechanical motions which do not involve light and heat, and (2) processes which are irreversible, whose laws can hence be best expressed in terms of time. These distinctive outlooks are deeply associated as regards the study of life with those of mechanist and vitalist, staticist and evolutionist: hence students of mind and of society cannot but profit from Mr. Whyte's able outline and review of this current crisis in physical speculation. Though his presentment of the rival schools is scrupulously fair, he is substantially with Whitehead, so his forecast of further clearness before long cannot but be encouraging to those whose views of life are not limited to the older and strictly physical-chemical treatment of physiology hitherto so often predominant, but extend to harmony with the study of mind and society in evolution, through time. Here then Mr. Whyte's argument, though not explicitly sociological, may well be considered with Mr. Bentley's, and indeed before it—since his criticism of Einstein's position has to be taken into account in considering all applications of it. Both books are thus to be welcomed, as compelling attention to that more and more comprehensive study of the sciences—physical and biological, psychological and social together—with which sociology took its rise, and from which it must ever gain new strength and clearness by returning.

P. G.

THE ART OF STUDY.

HOW TO STUDY IN COLLEGE: by Prof. L. Headley. New York. Henry Holt & Co. \$3.

THE teaching of Prof. Graham Wallis has done great service to students in this country, by calling attention to the definite activities and needed training of the mind for its various purposes: and his resulting ART OF THOUGHT has usefully summed up his main contributions. Here now is a more elementary textbook, but thereby in various ways all the better suited to beginners, by its simple and definite chapters of disciplinary suggestions—from how to keep fit physically and mentally, how to concentrate and understand, how to learn and remember, and how to judge and reason. Then, too, how to read, how use a library, make notes, and meet an examination: and finally how to invest time. The book is thus one which should be put widely before students, and to their real advantage.

P. G.

IPSWICH: A SURVEY OF THE TOWN. Ipswich Local Committee on Christian Politics, Economics, and Citizenship. 1925. (Cr. 8vo, paper. 2s. net.)

A SOCIAL SURVEY OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH: [Edited by Marjorie Rackstraw.] Oliver and Boyd. 1926. (8vo, paper, 1s. net.)

SOCIAL SERVICE IN PLYMOUTH: [Compiled by Miss H. E. Matheson.] 1920. (8vo, paper. 2s. 6d. net.)

THESE reports on local social surveys happen to have reached Leplay House within recent months, and are therefore dealt with together. This treatment is convenient for another reason also: they are all of the same type and, in their merits and defects, give an accurate impression of the present position in this country of the movement for social surveys.

ALL three have a purpose which is, to some extent, practical: each aims at informing the body of local administrators and social workers, and also as far as may be, the whole body of citizens; each hopes by so doing to intensify the local social effort. All follow in a general sense the same method: i.e., straight-forward description, under commonly recognised headings (Relief, Education, Recreation, &c.) of the existing agencies and efforts. There are, however, interesting differences. Miss Matheson's report on Plymouth stands out as far more detailed and precise in its information than the others: it gives exact statistics wherever possible, and thereby provides means of easy comparison with efforts elsewhere. Miss Rackstraw has naturally left her contributors—the Edinburgh Report is a sheaf of separate papers by those who know each service from the inside—to follow their own lines: each gives an able general view of one aspect of social service, but detail for comparison is lacking. The Ipswich Committee adopts a middle course between these two.

THE Reports taken together will leave no doubt in the mind of the reader as to the reality and growing importance of the movement for local social surveys. It is interesting to note that the associations responsible are in two cases out of the three of the Social Welfare type (Edinburgh Council of Social Welfare and Plymouth Civic Guild of Help): this makes plain the link between the ideal of co-operation for Civic purposes held by such organisations and the Survey idea.

COMMENDATION must be tempered by criticism, which is, however, applicable to the present state of opinion on such matters rather than to these particular reports. The almost entire absence of graphic presentation (none has a single map) is an outstanding defect, and makes it impossible for the reader to get an adequate view of the situation reported on. Again there are few signs of a quite general view of the social life and activities of the communities studied: the tendency is to concentrate upon "the other half of the world" and to leave out of consideration the class from which administrators and social workers are drawn. This latter defect does not appear in such early social surveys as *Piers Plowman*: we ought to be able to avoid it to-day.

A. F.

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